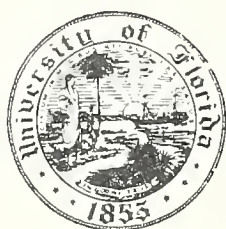




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*The Quarterly*

# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

## TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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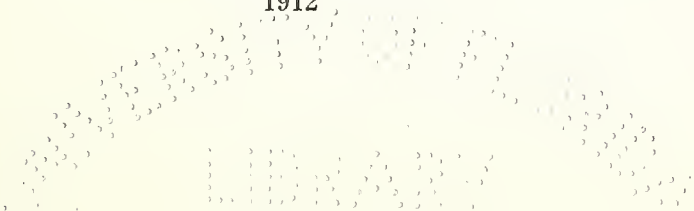
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# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

VOL. XV

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No. 1

*The publication committee and the editor disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to THE QUARTERLY.*

## THE AGUAYO EXPEDITION INTO TEXAS AND LOUISIANA, 1719-1722<sup>1</sup>

ELEANOR CLAIRE BUCKLEY

### I. CONDITIONS ON THE TEXAS-LOUISIANA FRONTIER IN 1719

1. *The Spanish Establishments.*—The desire of Spain to fasten her claims on eastern Texas had resulted by 1719 in what was at best a very weak hold on that region. Its maintenance was in the immediate charge of the Franciscan friars of Mexico, backed by a military force never exceeding twenty-five soldiers. Six straggling missions, scattered from the Neches River to within a few miles of the Red, had been erected in 1716 by a mere handful of missionaries. The missions were, San Francisco de los T́exas, on the Neches; La Purísima Concepción, on the Angelina; San Joseph, north of Nacogdoches, among the Nazonis; Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, at Nacogdoches; Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, at modern San Augustine; and San Miguel de los Adaes,

<sup>1</sup>A thesis presented to the Faculty of the College of Arts of the University of Texas, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, June, 1909. I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, now of Leland Stanford University, for invaluable direction and assistance in the original preparation of this paper and in its revision, and to Dr. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, for assistance and suggestions in its revision and preparation for the press.

some seven or more leagues southwest of Natchitoches, Louisiana.<sup>1</sup> The first three were under the charge of the Franciscan College of Querétaro, with their capital at the Mission of La Purísima Concepción, the last three under that of Zacatecas, with their capital at the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.<sup>2</sup> The small garrison of soldiers that protected them was near Mission Concepción. In the center of the province were the as yet weak Mission of San Antonio de Valero and the *presidio* of San Antonio de Bexar, established in 1718 by Father Olivares and Governor Alarcón.

The condition of these establishments was far from flourishing. The expedition of Alarcón had been charged with the replenishment of the impoverished missions of eastern Texas and the settlement of their surrounding Indians in *pueblos*.<sup>3</sup> These things, however, it failed to do, and the missionaries continued to suffer from extreme want. In the years 1717 and 1718 the crops of beans and corn failed, and the Spanish were forced to resort to wild herbs; game was so scarce that the unpalatable crows were used for meat; while the church supplies, the wax for candles and the necessary articles for the celebration of the mass, were all but exhausted. Urgent requests for alleviation were sent to the home government both before and after Alarcón's expedition, but for various reasons no relief came.<sup>4</sup>

Thus when our narrative opens, there were in eastern Texas a few missionary priests caring for the six missions, relying for sup-

<sup>1</sup>For the location of the first four of these missions, see Bolton, "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI, 249-276. The location of the last two is more definitely discussed below, pp. 49-53.

<sup>2</sup>*Representación hecha a su Exa. por los R. R. Padres Misioneros, in Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 163. Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, 67, Bulletin of the University of Texas No. 98, says that Concepción was made the capital of the missions founded and to be founded by the Zacatecan friars. This is evidently only a slip, for he cites the above mentioned document for his authority.

<sup>3</sup>*Directorio o Ynstrucciones para el Viage a la Provincia de Texas, in Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 228-235.

<sup>4</sup>Espinosa, *Crónica*, 443-445. Also, *Carta Escrita por el Padre Misionero Espinosa [al] P. N. Guardian F. Joseph Diez, in Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 224. La Harpe, writing from the Cadodachos, May 1, 1720, says that he has heard that Alarcón was removed from office for not having gathered the Indians into *pueblos* and for not anticipating La Harpe at the Nassonites. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, VI, 242.

plies on the inadequate providence of the government authorities in the City of Mexico, and contending with the cupidity of the surrounding Indians. The latter's hostility could be kept in check only by constant gifts, as they were continually alienated by the indiscreet acts of the military, and were in natural antagonism to the chief aim of the missionaries, which was to settle them in *pueblos* as a first step to their christianization and civilization.<sup>1</sup>

2. *The French Establishments.*—Facing the Spanish establishments in eastern Texas were the outposts of the French in western Louisiana. In 1698 they had made a settlement at Mobile, twelve leagues from the Spanish fort of Pensacola. Their occupation had rapidly extended westward, and by 1717, as an obstacle to Spanish encroachment through Texas and as a base for western Indian trade, they had erected a *presidio* at Natchitoches,<sup>2</sup> not far from los Adaes. As early as 1717 it was evident that they had designs on the interior Cadodacho lands,<sup>3</sup> designs which were consummated in 1719.

The committing of Louisiana to a rich trading company in 1712 had made its extension and occupation by the French much more probable, for on the success of the commercial enterprise depended the personal fortunes of the promoters of the company. The extension of French influence, which, for trading purposes, was naturally toward the west, made it a factor in Spanish activities in eastern Texas. Thus the Spanish missionaries, in addition to their other difficulties, had to contend with the inherent racial advantages possessed by the French of easy and rapid amalgamation with the aborigines, for French priest, French sol-

<sup>1</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 450.

<sup>2</sup>*Representación hecha por el M. R. y Venera. P. Fr. Margil de Jesus a Su Exa*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 223. A sergeant and six soldiers were sent out by Cadillac in January, 1717, to forestall the Spanish at Natchitoches. Margry, VI, 199. *Journal Historique*, 140, gives the date, January 29. (See Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, 67, note 1.) The same month the Spanish founded the mission at los Adaes.

<sup>3</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 443, and Arrievita, *Crónica*, 224, say that Father Hidalgo tried to prevent the French from establishing a fort among the Cadodachos in 1717, but failed on account of desertion of the Indian guides. The French fort was, however, not established till 1719 (Margry, VI, 261-264). The fears of the Spanish missionaries were probably aroused by the settlement of the Yataze Indians, through the instrumentality of the French, among the Cadodachos and the Natchitoches tribes in 1717. La Harpe speaks of this nation as the best friend the French had (Margry, VI, 264).

dier, and especially French trader, each readily made the Indian his friend.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Change in the French Frontier Policy.*—The Aguayo expedition, which is the theme of this paper, had its cause in a crisis in the affairs of this Texas-Louisiana Frontier. For some time there had been evident a tendency toward a more positive policy on the part of the two nations occupying this border territory. At first the political policy of both had been mutually forbearing, inconsistent, and self-damaging. As regards France, while she consistently claimed Texas after La Salle's attempted settlement, she made no definite effort to occupy the country. Moreover, the persistent efforts of the authorities in Louisiana, beginning with 1712, to open up a land trade with Mexico resulted in the occupation of eastern Texas by Spain in 1716 with six missions and a *presidio* with twenty-five soldiers. As for Spain, she maintained a jealous, but inactive attitude, until, stirred by imminent danger of a French occupation, she was aroused to spasmodic and weak efforts to secure her claim on Texas, first in 1691 and again in 1716. But the history of early Spanish missions in Texas is a history of successive failures on Spain's part to properly support establishments that were destined to guard what was clearly a danger point. This failure had led one of the early fathers<sup>2</sup> to seek aid among the French of Louisiana, and a later one not to disdain a clandestine encouragement of the French trader at the very time that the latter was carrying French influence into regions claimed by Spain.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The French on the Texas border seem to have depended mostly on the trader for the spreading of their influence. Early in 1717, when two of the *padres* from the newly arrived Ramón expedition of 1716 went to Natchitoches, to their surprise they found the French there with a post. The latter, however, had no priest, and Tissenet, the sergeant in command, asked the *padres* to return on Sundays and feast days to celebrate mass (Pénicaut, *Relation*, in Margry, V, 535). They performed this and other spiritual offices for the French at Natchitoches for several years (Margry, VI, 305).

<sup>2</sup>This was Father Hidalgo, whose letter to the Governor of Louisiana has undoubtedly been made too much of. See Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, Bulletin of the University of Texas, No. 98, pp. 50-51.

<sup>3</sup>This reference is to a correspondence between Father Margil and La Harpe in 1719, when the latter was at the Nassonites. La Harpe opened the correspondence with an offer of trade, which would help the missionary in his material needs. The priest's reply evinced a ready willingness to carry on a trade which, however, must be secret, as he and the other mis-

On account of the forbearance on the part of the French and their avowed eagerness for trade, it has been said and implied that the French of Louisiana were willing, anxious, even solicitous, that Spanish establishments be made in eastern Texas, as a means to promote trade on the border.<sup>1</sup> There seem to be good grounds to doubt the truth of this in general, and by 1719 there are evident signs of the existence of an aggressive policy on the part of the French. Some of the indications that the French did not wish to encourage Spanish settlements in eastern Texas are the following: First, there is a manifest dissatisfaction on the part of the French authorities with the outcome of St. Denis's enterprise, which resulted in the Ramón expedition and the founding of six missions and a *presidio* in eastern Texas in 1716;<sup>2</sup> second,

sionaries did not stand well with Alarcón, who was then Governor. (Margry, VI, 274-275). A missionary's zeal in promoting his cause and a trader's cupidity, however, should not be identified with political policies.

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 609; Garrison, *Texas*, 41; Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, 51. It is true that there were individuals who were seemingly blind to political danger, and encouraged border trade. St. Denis and La Harpe, the first as an adventurer, the second as a trader, may be considered as the individuals more personally concerned with the opening up of trade with Mexico and of subordinating political aims to selfishness. But even they were not blind to ultimate results, and seem to have had in view only the toleration of a weak and temporary Spanish occupation. St. Denis, on his way to Mexico to initiate trading relations, stopped at the Assinai, the capital of the Texas country, "where he renewed the taking of possession made by the troops of M. de La Salle in 1684" (Margry, VI, 193). When returning from Mexico, accompanied by the Spanish expedition, St. Denis says, "it will be necessary to ask of his Majesty that the boundaries be to the River of the North [the Rio Grande], where the mission of San Juan Bautista is established" (Margry, VI, 198). And when La Harpe, exploring the Red River country, heard that Alarcón had ordered that a post be established among the Nassonites, he hurried forward to anticipate it (Margry, VI, 255).

<sup>2</sup>Heinrich, writing from a decidedly French point of view, and from excellent sources, reflects the disappointment when he says: "He [St. Denis] had to submit to conduct to the Assinai missionaries and troops which were being sent to establish a post. . . . Thus not only were all hopes founded on St. Denis's expedition destroyed, but the Spaniards, disturbed by that first attempt, put themselves in a position to forbid us access to their territory. [And] not hoping to profit by trade with our neighbors, Crozat had to find something else." . . . Thus he indicates that even Crozat, the merchant, did not consider his interests advanced, if it had to be at the price of suffering Spanish settlements on the French border. (Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731*, lxxv.)

As for the government's attitude at that time, Cadillac, governor of Louisiana during its cession to Crozat, and the one who commissioned the St. Denis expedition, when the latter had given him an account of his trip,

this feeling of dissatisfaction and disappointment was converted into a desire to resist, and resulted in an aggressive movement on the part of the French in 1719, when, at the order of Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, Blondel, the commandant at Natchitoches, attacked the mission of los Adaes and brought about for some time the general and complete abandonment of eastern Texas.<sup>1</sup> This aggressive French movement was the immediate cause of the Aguayo expedition, whose object was the reoccupation of the abandoned province.

4. *Spanish Fears of the French.*—Even before the advent of St. Denis in Mexico, Spanish officials had apprehended danger from the French. As a barrier to those who had advanced as far as Natchitoches after the Ramón expedition of 1716, the missions of San Miguel de los Adaes and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores were established in 1717 along the route formerly used by the French through Texas to Mexico.<sup>2</sup> In the same year an attempt was made to anticipate the French at the Cadodachos,<sup>3</sup> and in

"knew well that there was no ground to hope to open up trade with the Spanish. That is why he resolved to have a fort erected on the Red River among the Natchitoches to prevent the descent which the Spanish could make by that river to the Mississippi" (Margry, V, 535). Showing, further, that he did not give up the idea of the French occupying Texas at some time, and his dissatisfaction with the results of the St. Denis expedition, he thinks, "The Spaniards are going to occupy it [Espíritu Santo Bay] in order to exclude us [the French], and sieur Saint-Denis's letter makes known their alarms, to which sieur Saint-Denis has contributed much by not having followed his instructions." And finally his opinion is that "if the Spaniards settle the Natchitoches on the Red River, . . . that establishment will be very disconcerting and will ruin hopes which one might have"; but he is persuaded that "they will maintain it only as long as is wished, for it will be easy to destroy or appropriate it." . . . and, "he will give orders to sieur Saint-Denis to engage all the savages on Red River to oppose the establishments of the Spaniards." (Margry, VI, 198-199.)

<sup>1</sup>Bienville, not only in letters to his home government, where he might feel it to his advantage to show an anti-Spanish feeling, but in the one to the Spanish commandant at los Adaes is clearly aggressive in tone. In both cases he says that in 1719 he ordered that the Spanish be forced to retire from los Adaes. In the former he declared that it had been the intention of the company to oppose the return of the Spanish to the Assinai as well as to los Adaes, and that he had ordered St. Denis to secretly instigate the savages to refuse help in the way of maintenance to the Spanish, and to intercept aid coming to the Assinai (Margry, VI, 224-225).

<sup>2</sup>*Representación hecha por el M. R. y Venere P. Antonio Margil de Jesus, in Colección de Memorias, XXVII, 223-224.*

<sup>3</sup>Arriavita, *Crónica*, 224; *Espinosa, Crónica*, 443.

1719 La Harpe learned from the missionary at the mission of los Adaes that Alarcón had ordered an establishment among the Nasonites.<sup>1</sup>

Fears of aggression from this quarter were frequently expressed by the missionaries who were in Texas at the time. In June, 1718, Father Olivares at Mission San Antonio de Valero, in writing to the viceroy, said that the French had won the Indians over by their gifts and their disinterestedness, and warned him of danger from this source should war break out, "for they [the French] are supplying the Indians with arquebuses in addition to their arrows."<sup>2</sup> Father Espinosa, priest at Concepción, on the Angelina, commenting on French influence, relates that at the reception of Alarcón in 1718, the Indians on the frontier "fired off more guns than all the Spaniards put together," and that in that one mission he had out of curiosity counted ninety-two guns in the Indians' possession.<sup>3</sup> And in the letter of July 2, 1719, by the two missionary presidents, Margil and Espinosa, to the viceroy, an important source for the period, reference is made to former letters they had written expressing similar, if not more personal, fears of the French.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, these fears, together with other difficulties of the missionaries, were presented at the viceroy's court by a special messenger. About the middle of 1718, the fathers in eastern Texas were driven to a high degree of impatience by Alarcón's delay at San Antonio, and despaired of getting any relief from him at all. Father Margil sent for Father Espinosa, therefore, and at the former's mission of Dolores a conference was held, at which six religious were present. It was there decided to send two representatives to Mexico, one from each college of friars, to make a personal appeal to the government, in the hope of removing certain misconceived prejudices, and of awakening the authorities to the real danger of the situation in Texas. President Espinosa was the Querétaran representative chosen, and Fray Matbías Sanz de San Antonio, the Zacatecan. These two had gone as far as San

<sup>1</sup>Margry, VI, 255.

<sup>2</sup>*Autos sobre diferentes noticias que se han participado*, etc., in *Provincias Internas*, 181, University of Texas Transcripts.

<sup>3</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 451.

<sup>4</sup>*Razon de la fundacion de las misiones*, B. MS.

Antonio when they met Alarcón<sup>1</sup> just starting for Espíritu Santo and eastern Texas. Father Espinosa, thinking it best to be present at the visitation of the missions under his charge, returned to eastern Texas, by way of Espíritu Santo, with Alarcón, leaving Father Mathías to bear the mission to the home government.<sup>2</sup>

The latter sped on to Mexico, where he arrived in November, 1718, and remained till February, 1719. The burden of his complaint to the home government as summarized by Espinosa was: "The manifest risk of losing that province [Texas], on account of the proximity of the French, who were penetrating [adjacent lands] with new settlements, and had a fortification with many people and arms on the Cadodacho River; that information was had that they were settling the banks of the Palizada [the Mississippi] in force; and that it was to be feared on good grounds that they would attach the Texas Indians to their side, because they fondled them much, giving them firearms in exchange for horses."<sup>3</sup> Father Mathias's mission was successful as far as orders for relief of the situation were concerned, but ineffective as far as action went. The viceroy, to the end that the Indians might be subjugated and the French restrained, ordered that Spanish families should be sought and sent to Texas to form *villas*; issued a despatch authorizing the syndic to collect the alms which the king set aside for missionaries; and ordered that alms be collected from the royal treasury at Zacatecas. But nothing was done, and the Texas missionary left the capital in disgust for Zacatecas, February, 1719.<sup>4</sup>

## II. THE RETREAT OF THE SPANISH FROM EASTERN TEXAS (1719) AND ITS CAUSE

1. *The Breach of Peace in Europe, January, 1719.*—The proverbially slow working of the Spanish governmental authorities allowed time for the fulfillment of the prophecies and the justification of the fears of the missionaries. Before anything was done

<sup>1</sup>A recently acquired diary of Alarcón's expedition into Texas, by Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquía, shows that between April and the latter part of June Alarcón several times attempted to send aid to the missionaries of eastern Texas, but was prevented by the swollen rivers.—H. E. B.

<sup>2</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 450.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

to strengthen the frontier, menace was offered by the French, and the Spanish missionaries were driven from eastern Texas.

This occurrence was the immediate result and the reflection of European complications. Out of the aspiration of Philip V to the French throne came the unnatural union between France and England in the Triple Alliance, and finally the political isolation of Spain in the formation of the Quadruple Alliance. Spain's retaliatory and aggressive policy carried out in her occupation of Sardinia and her invasion of Sicily was the signal for the declaration of war against her by France, January 9, 1719.<sup>1</sup>

2. *The Capture of Pensacola by the French, May, 1719.*—On April 20, Bienville, the French governor at Mobile, received the declaration of war and an order from the Company of the Occident, then in charge of Louisiana, to seize Pensacola immediately.<sup>2</sup> On May 14 the French sea force surprised and captured the fort. This was the first news the Spanish of Louisiana had of the existence of war, and they claimed an unpardonable breach of faith by the French in not having given the customary two months' notice.<sup>3</sup>

On June 29, the viceroy, by letter from Salinas, the governor of San José, received news of the fall of Pensacola, and immediately began elaborate preparations for its recapture. His fleet, however, did not arrive in time for the retaking of the fort. According to stipulations, the French were to transport the Spanish garrison to Havana and thence to Spain. When, however, the French frigates bearing the prisoners neared Havana, they were accidentally met by a Spanish fleet, commanded by D. Alonso Carrascosa de la Torre, and captured. Changing his original plans, Carrascosa now veered toward Pensacola, and on August 7 recaptured the place without resistance.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hassall, *The Balance of Power, 1715-1789*. Ch. II.

<sup>2</sup>Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1719-1731*, 55.

<sup>3</sup>*De la sorpresa hecha por los Franceses de la Movila en el Castillo de San Carlos, y punta de Singuenza y su restauracion por las Armas de Su Magestad (que Dios Guarde) el dia 7 de Agosto de este.* Historia, 396, Archivo General. University of Texas Transcripts.

<sup>4</sup>*De la Sorpresa hecha por los Franceses de la Movila, etc.*, University of Texas Transcripts. See also Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1719-1731*, 57-59. The latter claims that fifty French soldiers deserted, the former says that forty was the number that came over to the Spaniards. As to the rest of the facts the accounts agree substantially.

The French under Bienville and Serigny now concentrated their forces, increased by a number of Indian allies and, aided by a newly arrived fleet, again captured Pensacola, September 17, 1719. It finally returned to Spain by treaty in 1721.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Blondel's Attack on los Adaes, June, 1719.*—From this minor war movement in Louisiana, a still smaller one penetrated to the forlorn province of Texas, and swept back for two years from its eastern portion to San Antonio, all vestige of Spanish occupation. Though the act in itself was insignificant, the effects were far from being so, and on the minds of the Spaniards, filled as they were with fears of an impending danger from that source, it made a deep impression. The contemporary writings of the missionaries, which are our principal sources for this event, are laden with details, and the accounts which they present, told with all the charm and naïveté of the simple-hearted *padres*, are not without humor to the modern reader.

Just what caused the Spaniards to leave eastern Texas in 1719 has been variously misrepresented. One extreme view is that St. Denis, with a large body of French and Indian allies, attacked their settlement at los Adaes; another, which is just as untrue, is that there was no attack at all, and that the missionaries fled without cause. The most important available document for this event is the letter of July 2, 1719, to the viceroy from the two presidents of the missions in Texas.<sup>2</sup> Written under the actual stress of the flight, it gives exact and somewhat graphic details of the plight, fears, and wants of the small band which was expected to hold Texas for His Spanish Majesty. The writers, Fathers Margil and Espinosa, were at the time of the writing at Mission Concepción on the Angelina, where they remained for about twenty days after the rest of the Spaniards had retired toward the Trinity.<sup>3</sup>

The facts in the case, as gathered from this letter and other sources, seem to be that about the middle of June, 1719,<sup>4</sup> a

<sup>1</sup>Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1719-1731*, 62.

<sup>2</sup>*Razon de la fundacion de las Misiones de los Texas al Sor Virrey pr aquellas Misioneros*, B. MS. As explained in the bibliographical notes the title of this document is misleading.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>The letter of July 2 does not give the date of the attack, but says that word was received of it on the 22d at Concepción. Peña (*Derrotero*, 1)

month after the capture of Pensacola, the French commandant at Natchitoches went in person to the Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes and captured its occupants. This was not in itself a prodigious feat, for these at the time numbered two—a lay brother and a ragged soldier. It so happened that the missionary priest and his companions were absent on a spiritual errand to their superior, Father Margil, at the Mission Dolores, and so were providentially saved from arrest. Seemingly satisfied with his work, Blondel started home, taking in his custody the lay brother, the soldier, the sacred vessels, ornaments, and other utensils from the mission church. He did not spare even the chickens, which were to repeat in a lesser degree the exploits of the geese of Rome. Not submitting willingly to captivity by the French, they made desperate efforts to escape, and the wild flapping of their wings so frightened the horses that Blondel, the commandant, was thrown. In the consequent confusion, and with the aid of some friendly French soldiers, the lay brother made his escape. So, the Spanish chronicler continues, "Monsieur Commandant returned to his *presidio*, glorious in the triumph over one worthless soldier and the captured chickens, whose lives were presumably not spared, . . . since they had so treacherously threatened that of their captor."<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *The Retreat of the Spanish across the Trinity, June-Sep-*

gives the date of the attack as June 16. Bonilla (*Breve Compendio*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 19) says it was June 19. La Harpe, at the Nasonites, says that on the 16th he received news that "the Spanish were angry with the French, and that the governor of the Assinai and his warriors were retiring from their *presidio*," thus making it appear that the Spanish abandonment was before the 16th (Margry, VI, 276). There is the possibility of this being a slip on the part of La Harpe, for his entries at this time were not daily, but skipped from the 13th to the 16th and then to the 24th. Moreover, the fact that the retreating party was referred to as "the Governor of the Assinai" makes it more than probable that the reference was to Alarcón, who, with his expedition, was retreating from the Assinai about that time, and who, judging from the spirited correspondence with La Harpe, was evidently angry with the French. But for this correspondence (Margry, VI, 274), as noticed by Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 615) it might be supposed that Alarcón had left the country long since. In the Margry text, Alarcón's letter is dated May 28, 1719, at the Assinai. The same text furnishes a note from Beaurain (*Journal Historique*), giving the date from the Trinity as May 20, 1719.

<sup>1</sup>Arriçivita, *Crónica*, 100.

tember, 1719.—The lay brother fled back to Margil's mission, the bearer of his own startling news and of more given him by the friendly French soldiers. His was the first intimation the Texas Spaniards had that their stronghold of Pensacola had been captured. The French soldiers had told him that a hundred men were hourly expected from Natchitoches to mete out a fate like that of los Adaes to the rest of the Texas missions. Speeding the lay brother on with the news to the other missions, Father Margil buried his iron tools and implements, gathered together his ornaments, and retired to Concepción.<sup>1</sup> The information had spread terror to the other missions. The captain, who then was Domingo Ramón, and his few soldiers at the *presidio* of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, adjacent to the mission of Concepción, were for immediate flight; the eight women at the *presidio* clamored to be allowed to retreat, willing to risk the Indians and the wilds alone with two soldiers. On Father Margil's arrival, the religious held council. According to the fathers, they tried to induce the captain to await further developments, since the Indians had offered to put out spies and warn them of any French advance, and the fathers urged that there could be no immediate danger, as they were then more than a hundred leagues away from the French. But persuasion was of no avail, we are told, and in spite of opposition, the families, soldiers, and some of the religious to whom the spirit of fear had been communicated, began their withdrawal, and camped half a league from the Mission of San Francisco de los T́exas, just east of the Neches River. Father Espinosa remained in his mission of Concepción, trying to quiet the Indians who rebelled at the Spaniards' leaving. In order to assure them that the Spanish intended to return, he finally left some of the fixings of the mission in their care. But when he retired to Mission San Francisco, the Indians followed, determined that the Spaniards should not withdraw. Thus it was decided that the rest might retreat, but not beyond the farthest ranches of the T́exas

<sup>1</sup>A document recently acquired shows that when Aguayo departed from Texas, at Father Espinosa's request he commissioned Lieutenant Juan Antonio de Lara to make judicial inquiry into the circumstances of the abandonment of eastern Texas in 1719; and the testimony given shows that a soldier named Xavier Maldonado accompanied the lay brother from Los Ais to the Presidio of Dolores, and that Capt. Ramón sent Alf́erez Marcial Saucedo with six men to escort Father Margil to the *presidio*. (*Informe sobre el Despueble De las Miss's de Texas.*)—H. E. B.

Indians, while the two presidents should go back to Concepción. The captain, perhaps fearful of punishment for the act, hesitated to leave them, and only on receipt of a written statement that they were remaining voluntarily, would he consent to it. Two of the soldiers volunteered to stay with them, and the same day that the rest of the company left westward, Espinosa and Margil returned to the former's mission, where they remained about twenty days. Learning, however, that the captain and the rest of the force were going beyond the specified place, they felt constrained, for evident reasons, to follow them.<sup>1</sup>

On July 2, from Mission Concepción, on the Angelina, the letter which we are following in the narrative, signed by the two presidents of the missions, was sent to the viceroy by two messengers. Word was likewise sent to the captains of the *presidios* of Béxar and the Rio Grande, and to the Governor of Coahuila, telling them that the company of soldiers and the priests were retiring, but that if armed help came the former would return to their *presidio* and the latter to their missions. The letter relates the events as given above, and adds that there were well-grounded fears that the French would continue their advance. The missionaries attributed their inability to resist the present hostile movement to the general failure of the government to properly support them, and, in particular, to the failure of Alarcón to follow his instructions. They complained, on the one hand, that they had not been informed of the existence of war, that the French had been steadily advancing for three years, that they had distributed guns by the hundreds among the Indians; and, on the other hand, that the Spanish occupation had made no advance for three years, that their former petitions, impressing on the authorities the danger from the French, and their requests for fifty men to settle the Cadodachos had been disregarded, and that since Alarcón's departure, they had not had a single letter from Mexico. They had less than twenty-five soldiers, they continued, mere boys, poorly clad, without mount or arms, a laughing stock to the very Indians. The crops, which had failed the

<sup>1</sup>The account as given above is mainly from *Razon de la Fundacion de las Misiones*, etc., B. MS. Substantially the same account with a few minor additional details is found in Espinosa, *Chronica*, 453-455, and Arri-civita, *Crónica*, 100.

year before, promised to be better, but they must now be left to the ravages of the Indians; the tools and implements which had been secured at the cost of money, time, and labor, must be abandoned. In order to appease the threatened wrath of the savages, who so objected to the Spaniards' retiring that they stole the horses and cattle, they had promised that they would retire but a short distance and return as soon as they met assistance—adding that it was only on account of future danger that they retired at all. The fathers closed their letter with a passionate appeal that the viceroy, "remembering the blood of the Son of God, shed for these poor gentiles, will moisten his pen in it to write with his own hand what may be best for the good of their souls, the service of the King and Lord, and the consolation of these afflicted missionaries."

The best evidence we have that the missionaries were truthful in their claim that they wished to remain, and that they did not abandon their missions precipitately to the plunder of the Indians—doubted as it is by some<sup>1</sup>—is that the presidents actually did remain alone about twenty days at the mission of Concepción. Seeing, however, that the rest of the force continued to retreat beyond the specified distance, they followed. Their first camping place was within the limits of the Texas Indians, but moving later on, they stopped on the boundary of the Texas country. Here they remained through July, August, and September.<sup>2</sup>

5. *Evidence that a Real and not an Imaginary Advance of the French Caused the Retreat of the Spanish.*—Leaving the refugees camped near the edge of the Texas country, let us turn to consider some points that have arisen in regard to the events just narrated. First, it has been seriously doubted whether the French made any demonstration against the Spanish, and whether the missionaries had any real or tangible danger from which to flee, it being maintained that their flight was due to imaginary fears.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 615; Garrison, *Texas*, 76; Cox, *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, in *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 12.

<sup>2</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 454. This source says they made their first halt in June. This is evidently a misprint for July, for just after this the statement is made that they remained in camp three months, including August and September.

<sup>3</sup>Garrison, *Texas*, 76; Cox, *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier* in *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 12.

But the weight of contemporary Spanish sources on this subject seem incontrovertible. The letter of Fathers Espinosa and Margil was written only ten days after the news of the happening at los Adaes had been received, and was sent to the viceroy at the time. Had such an account come later, in self-defense, the charge of fabrication might be considered; but it was written under the stress of events. Furthermore, it is hardly conceivable that such a tale could have been composed without any foundation whatever, even under compulsion. The letter was in fact but a logical sequel to those of 1717 and 1718 in which the government had been warned of facts which would make such an occurrence possible. Another source of undoubted excellence is Espinosa's *Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica*, and the essential facts and details which it contains harmonize completely with the letter of July 2.<sup>1</sup> A later piece of evidence that the French did make a hostile demonstration is found in the Peña *Derrotero*. We are told that on the arrival of Aguayo at los Adaes, the cazique of that tribe expressed his joy at the Spaniards' return, saying that "*at the time of the French invasion,*"<sup>2</sup> his Indians had been forced by the French to remove from their lands, because they had shown regret at the Spanish retreat, and that the French had persecuted them, taking their wives and children for slaves when they left the country.<sup>3</sup>

Such is the evidence afforded by the contemporary Spanish sources, and with it contemporary French sources are in complete agreement. First, Bienville, two years after the event, says that he ordered such an attack on the Spanish mission. He was at the time of his statement, December 10, 1721, protesting against a Spanish establishment at los Adaes, and after expressing surprise at such a step, he adds, "Besides there is no one who does not know of the order which I gave on the occasion of the declaration of war to sieur Blondel, Commandant of said Natchitoches, to go with a detachment to the place where the Reverend Father

<sup>1</sup>The *Chronica* at this point was to a certain degree written in self-defense, vindicating the missionaries of charges preferred by the secular authorities. Yet the only difference between it and the letter, and it has no bearing here, is that the former, page 451, says Alarcón left Texas in December; the latter, that he left in November.

<sup>2</sup>The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 22.

lived to compel him to retire with his domestics."<sup>1</sup> Second, Blondel admitted that he had gone in person to los Adaes and had taken possession of the ornaments and sacred vessels.<sup>2</sup> Third, he was taken to task for this act by La Harpe upon the latter's return to New Orleans, where he said "he learnt some of the circumstances regarding the expedition of M. Blondel to the Mission of los Adaes."<sup>3</sup> Fourth, all the reports that reached La Harpe at the Nassonites were to the effect that the French had driven (*avaient chassé*) the Spaniards out of los Adaes. In the course of his explorations of Red River, La Harpe arrived at the Nassonites, April 5, 1719.<sup>4</sup> His first intimation of hostilities came June 16 through some Nadaco savages. They brought "very confused news about the Spanish, who, they said, were angry with us that *we had driven them out from los Adaes*,"<sup>5</sup> and that the governor of the Assinais and his warriors were retiring from their *presidio*.<sup>6</sup> The next information that the French trader received came from the Oulchionis,<sup>7</sup> June 24. They added the information that the French were at war with the Spanish, and that they had been sent by the chief of the nation to ask the Nassonites to declare in favor of the French. La Harpe's third and fullest information was brought by Saint François, a corporal whom he had sent immediately after the first news of June 16, to learn further of the matter. Saint François had left June 20,<sup>8</sup> and had gone as far as the Amediche,<sup>9</sup> where he remained till after the retreat of the

<sup>1</sup>Margry, VI, 225. In the same sentence, Bienville says that the Reverend Father had already retired when Blondel arrived there. The missionary, as we have seen, *was* absent when the French appeared. He had not retired, however, but was on a visit to his superior. See above, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Margry, VI, 306.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 305.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 260-261.

<sup>5</sup>The italics are mine.

<sup>6</sup>Margry, VI, 276.

<sup>7</sup>The Oulchionis tribe lived on the Island of Natchitoches, and was an ally of the Natchitoches tribe, which in turn was the closest French ally. These Indians were thus in a position to know of events, and it is not unlikely that they had been dispatched immediately to seek aid.

<sup>8</sup>Margry, VI, 277.

<sup>9</sup>Margry, VI, 280. The corporal's sojourn among the Amediche, which are identified with the Nabedache (Bolton, in *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part 2, p. 1), where Mission San Francisco de los Têxas was first situated, about four leagues

Spaniards beyond the Trinity, and returned August 1.<sup>1</sup> He bore the intelligence that Monsieur Blondel, the commandant at Nat-chitoches, had driven the Recollect Fathers out of the Mission of los Adaes.<sup>2</sup>

Blondel's testimony, given at the time, November, 1719, casts light on the subject because of its interesting contradictory nature. When taken to task by La Harpe for having driven the Spaniards out of los Adaes, he assured the latter "that he had gone there only with the intention of protecting that mission from the aggressions of the Indians, who when they knew the breach between us [the French and Spanish] would not have failed to destroy it"; but that the fathers, not knowing his intentions, had fled, abandoning the sacred vessels and other effects "of which the Indians had taken possession."<sup>3</sup> Thereupon La Harpe dictated a letter which Blondel should write to the fathers. In it he expressed the fears that he had entertained for them on account of the Indians, and stated that he had gone there to protect their reverences. He did not find the reverend father there, however, and Brother Manuel, not trusting in his (the Frenchman's) promises, had fled, abandoning the effects, of which he (Blondel) had taken possession "to prevent their profanation by idolaters." He assured the priests that should they be sent for, the ornaments would be gladly delivered.<sup>4</sup> It is true that Blondel does not mention the soldier which the Spanish claim he captured, but it is curious to note that when scolded by La Harpe, he declared that the Indians had taken the ornaments, but when writing to the fathers he was forced to admit that he had taken them and had them in his possession. This little incident in itself betrays a lack of candor in Blondel's position, and leaves something to be explained by those who say that there was no attack on los Adaes.

The other extreme view taken of the matter is that St. Denis,

west of the Neches crossing, would bear witness that the Spanish retreat was not so precipitate as it is generally represented; for he stayed there till after the retreat of the Spaniards, "who, fearing our garrison and our savages, had retired on the other side of the Trinity." Margry, VI, 280.

<sup>1</sup>Margry, VI, 280.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 305.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 306.

at the head of a French and Indian force, attacked the Mission of los Adaes and drove the Spaniards back; and the impression is left that such is the view given by Spanish writers and sources. Bancroft says that, "a party of French and Indians from Natchitoches took possession of the Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes," and cites indefinitely some of the best secondary Spanish authorities.<sup>1</sup> Now, as a matter of fact, no such allegation is made by contemporary Spanish sources available for this paper, and they include all those cited by Bancroft, and more. First, as to the commander of the forces, various assertions are made by English writers: Dr. Garrison is the only recent writer that correctly states that "Blondel must be the commander of the attacking force, if there was any attack at all"; Bancroft suggests the probability of Blondel's connection with the affair; while in other works such as Thrall, Yoakum, and Brown, La Harpe and St. Denis are given credit for the attack. The last mentioned writer gives all the credit to La Harpe.<sup>2</sup> The fact is that no mention is made of St. Denis or La Harpe in this capacity by either French or Spanish contemporary sources, while Blondel is unequivocally named as the leader of the French. It is also noteworthy that secondary writers such as Villa-Señor (*Theatro*) and Cavo (*Tres Siglos*) do not mention the first two. It is true that other early Spanish writers, as Bonilla and Altamira do erroneously name St.

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 615. Some of the authorities he cites are: Espinosa, *Chronica*, Arriavita, *Crónica*, Villa Señor, *Theatro*, Morfi, *Memorias*, Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, Bonilla, *Breve Compendio*, etc.

<sup>2</sup>Yoakum, *History of Texas*, in *A Comprehensive History of Texas* (Wooten, Ed.), I, 31; Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 19.

These secondary authorities can be best appreciated after the real truth of the subject is known, by means of contrast, for, to say the least, they are replete with errors. This can be best shown by some examples. According to Brown, La Harpe, the leader of the invading force, is met at San Antonio by a Spanish force and driven back. He stopped among the Nassonite Indians on the Neches, the result of this being the spirited correspondence between him and the Spanish Governor,—doubtless referring to the Alarcón letter, which would bring the latter to Texas after 1719. According to Yoakum, La Harpe and St. Denis drove the Spaniards from los Adaes, Orquisaco, Aes, and the Nacogdoches, and pursued them to Bexar. The result was the Aguayo expedition, which re-established the missions at Adaes, Aes, and Orquisaco, when its leader, Aguayo, was replaced by Alarcón, just inverting the order of succession. It need hardly be said that the Spaniards had no establishment at Orcoquisac before 1756.

Denis as the leader of the invading force. They are, however, not contemporary.<sup>1</sup>

As to the composition of the force, Bancroft states that "a party of French and Indians" took possession of los Adaes. He also claims, without specifying citations, to have had access to "Spanish authorities which imply that St. Denis was in command of a party composed mainly of Natchitoches and Cadodachos Indians."<sup>2</sup> It is improbable that these Spanish sources were contemporary. Indeed, of those he cites only one could be called such, and him Bancroft misrepresents. No primary source available for this paper gives any indication of this being the fact.<sup>3</sup> The only mention of Indians by Spanish contemporary sources is that the French were trying to ally themselves with the Indians,<sup>4</sup> and feared that the latter would be perverted by them.<sup>5</sup> Later writers like Bonilla have distorted the facts.

It is doubtless true, however, that the contemporary sources left exaggerated impressions of the French invasion. Having had real grounds for alarm, the Spaniards allowed their fears to assume magnified proportions. Still, though this is true, irrefutable facts should correct the impression made by writers who represent the withdrawal of the missionaries as an unworthy flight on groundless fears and without real cause.

6. *The Character of the Retreat.*—Writers also represent the withdrawal as a precipitate retreat to Bexar. Though the company finally retired there, they did not do so immediately, but camped for three months west of the Trinity, waiting for reinforcements. They stayed at their camp through July, August, and September,<sup>6</sup> suffering from want, being irregularly supplied

<sup>1</sup>There is a bare possibility of justifying some of the early Spanish writers for assuming that St. Denis would be the leader of such a company, for while in Mexico, awaiting the time to leave for home, in a moment of disgust he boasted of his influence among the Indians in Texas and threatened with their aid to destroy the Spanish settlements there (Margry, V, 202). On hearing it the viceroy gave orders that St. Denis be rearrested, but the latter escaped.

<sup>2</sup>Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 615.

<sup>3</sup>St. Denis was in command of three hundred natives at the retaking of Pensacola. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, I, 101.

<sup>4</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 455.

<sup>5</sup>*Razon de la Fundacion de las Misiones, etc.*, B. MS.

<sup>6</sup>French sources furnish evidence that the Spanish retreat was not precipitate. The corporal, Saint Francois, did not return to La Harpe from

with meat, having poor flour, and being totally without salt. Finally, despairing of succor, all except Father Espinosa, who had gone ahead to Mexico, retired in September or October to San Antonio de Valero, where the religious of the two colleges erected straw huts, and lived until Aguayo came in April, 1721. It was while waiting here that Father Margil, under Aguayo's patronage, founded the Mission of San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo.<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE MARQUIS OF AGUAYO AND THE PREPARATION FOR HIS EXPEDITION TO TEXAS

1. *The Marquis of Aguayo.*—The answer of Spain to the French act of aggression and the consequent abandonment of eastern Texas was the appointment of a capable governor for the provinces of Texas and Coahuila, and the adoption of vigorous measures to reoccupy the abandoned country. The appointment fell to the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, and to him also was committed the work of reoccupation. The marquisate of San Miguel de Aguayo embraced a large portion of the present State of Coahuila, and the Marquises had long been distinguished men in Coahuila and Neuvo León. One of the principal *haciendas* of the family was San Francisco de los Patos, between Saltillo and Parras, a place still in existence and with the same name. Comparatively little is known to us of the early, or indeed of the later, career of this particular Marquis. His name and title as given in the official print of the Peña *Derrotero* is "D. Joseph de Azlor,<sup>2</sup> Knight Commandant of the Kingdom of Aragon, Governor and Captain General<sup>3</sup> of the said Province of Texas, New Philipines, and of this of Coahuila, New Kingdom of Estremadura." He had served the King in Spain before going to Mexico, and when

the Amediche until August, and he left the Spanish force encamped on the Trinity (Margry, VI, 280).

<sup>1</sup>Arrievita, *Crónica*, 100, 101.

<sup>2</sup>Other documents call him "Dn. Joseph de Azlor Verto de vera, Caballero Mesnadero," etc. *Diferentes Autos y otras providencias dictadas por el Govor. Marques de S. Migl. de Aguayo*, Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobernación, Saltillo, Año de 1720, in B. MS.

<sup>3</sup>As noticed by Miss West, Bonilla, *Breve Compendio*, in THE QUARTERLY, VIII, 32, the title of captain general is omitted from the *Memorias* copy of the *Derrotero*, and also from the *Testimonio* of Altamira. The king, however, speaks of him as such in a royal cédula of 1729. See *Reales Cédulas*, tomo 48, 1729, Archivo General. B. MS.

our story opens he was evidently stationed in some military capacity on the northern frontier, with headquarters either at Los Patos or Parras. In 1716, writing from Santa Maria de las Parras, he says that he has been there four years.<sup>1</sup>

He first comes to notice in relation to Texas in connection with the quest of the Gran Quivira, which, since the time of Coronado, had gradually receded from far off Kansas toward the T  exas country. In a correspondence with the viceroy in 1715 and 1716, Aguayo asked that Joseph Urrutia<sup>2</sup> be sent to discover the Gran Quivira, of whose wonders and riches he had heard from an Indian from the interior during his sojourn among the Texas tribes.<sup>3</sup>

The crisis in the Texas affairs seemed to offer Aguayo a chance to gratify his ambition, and as soon as he heard of the French attack, he offered "his life, sword, and property" in the service of the king. The answer to this offer was his appointment to the governorship of Texas and Coahuila and the further commission to head the expedition that was to reoccupy Texas.<sup>4</sup> He apparently took possession of his office December 19, 1719.<sup>5</sup> He is

<sup>1</sup>Archivo de Secretar  a de Gobierno, Saltillo, a  o de 1699 [1716] Numero 17. January 12, 1715, he writes from San Francisco de los Patos; December 5, 1716, he writes from Santa Mar  a de las Parras. See, *Autos sre el Descubrimiento de la Gran Quibira segun lo consultado por el Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, Superior Gobierno, A  o de 1715, Texas*, No. 2, in B. MS.

<sup>2</sup>Urrutia had accompanied the Ter  n Expedition in 1691, and had lived among the T  exas Indians several years after the Spanish missions were abandoned in 1693. See, *Autos sre el Descubrimiento de la Gran Quivira segun lo consultado por el Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, Superior Gobierno, A  o de 1715, Texas*, No. 2, in B. MS.

<sup>3</sup>The fiscal's first answer was an unconditional refusal to consider the proposition at all. It was taken up later, however, with apparently more promise. On July 3, 1715, a *junta de guerra* was held to consider the question. It was here decided to ask both Aguayo and Urrutia for detailed reports regarding the solicited expedition—among other things, about the soil, climate, and inhabitants of Quivira, and their plans for the projected enterprise. Aguayo complied with the request November 2, 1715. He described the land, according to his information from the Indians, to be forty leagues from the T  exas country, and bathed by a great lake. He suggested that he be allowed to provide Urrutia with ten or twelve men, and that the latter go *incognito*, depending for aid on his following among the friendly Indians. Urrutia did not report, as requested, and the correspondence closes January 11, 1716, with the fiscal's recommendation. It was, that since Urrutia's report, which was the more important, as he was to be the leader of the expedition, was not forthcoming, the viceroy must renew his request for Urrutia's report. (*Autos sre el Descubrimiento de la Gran Quivira*, etc. A copy of this correspondence is to be had in *Colecci  n de Memorias*, XXVII, 116-130.)

<sup>4</sup>Pe  a, *Derrotero*, 1.

<sup>5</sup>It was on this day that Alarc  n, his predecessor, went out of office.

lost sight of, almost completely, after the expedition, but was evidently on the northern frontier, where, "for ten years, he has defended the country from the attacks of the Indians, giving continuous help to the *presidios* and neighboring places, and contributing at the same time, with his kindness and gifts, to the pacification of the revolting tribes."<sup>1</sup> The last we hear of him is that he was appointed Mariscal de campo in 1743.

2. *Instructions for the Expedition.*—A year before the French attack, June 11, 1718, the king had sent the viceroy a royal *cédula*, whose specific instructions met exactly the demands of such an emergency. This *cédula* had been written at the instance of a letter from the viceroy, in which he reported the conditions in Texas which had brought about the Alarcón expedition, and of letters from Gregorio de Salinas, of Pensacola, telling of the danger that the French would occupy Espíritu Santo Bay. The king's *cédula* ordered that no French ships be allowed in any Spanish port; and charged the viceroy to exert himself to supply and maintain the Texas missions, and to place the greatest number of missionaries at San Antonio, on account of its being the nearest settlement to Espíritu Santo. He ordered that at the latter place there should be erected a fort, on the spot where La Salle's had been; that to facilitate this work two ships should be sent from Vera Cruz; and that for military and religious reinforcements, soldiers and missionaries should be sent from the various *presidios* and missions in Mexico where their service was not especially required. Particular care was to be exercised in selecting the leader of the enterprise, and he was to be instructed that "if Frenchmen, by land or sea, should attempt another *entrada* [he] should place the commander in the Castle of Acapulco, and the rest in the mines of Mexico."<sup>2</sup> On November 1, 1719, the king issued another order.<sup>3</sup> It can not be said with certainty that this was

*Relación de los Empleos, Meritos, y Servicios del Sargento Mayor Don Martin de Alarcón*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 245-246.

<sup>1</sup>*Reales Cédulas*, Febrero 14, 1729, Tomo 48, Archivo General y Público, Mexico, B. MS.

<sup>2</sup>*Reales Cédulas*, June 11, 1718, Tomo 39, Archivo General, Mexico, B. MS.

<sup>3</sup>This *cédula* has not been seen, but it is summarized in one of May 26, 1729. In this same *cédula* it is mentioned as that of November 19. *Reales Cédulas*, May 26, 1729, Tomo 48, B. MS.

based on a knowledge of the occurrences in Texas, but it repeated in effect the foregoing one of June 11, 1718, and added that "since la Movila, Massacra, and the rest of the territory belonging to my royal crown is now occupied by the French with no right whatever, you [the viceroy] shall make the necessary provisions to cause them to abandon it, dislodging them from it."<sup>1</sup> And it does seem that it was on the basis of these two royal orders that the viceroy issued his instructions to Aguayo. In these, the viceroy specified, in addition to what the king had ordered, the erection of a fort on the Cadodacho River. A copy of the instructions was sent to the king, August 8, 1720.<sup>2</sup>

In the midst of his preparations, October 5, 1720, Aguayo received word from the viceroy which modified his original instructions. The latter had been sent news of the truce between the two nations, and accordingly modified his orders, so that Aguayo was to maintain only a defensive war with the French.<sup>3</sup> The viceroy at the same time made known to Aguayo the instructions contained in a despatch from the king regarding intercourse with the French. One of the provisions of the instructions was to admit those Frenchmen who might wish to join the Spanish force or to live among the Spaniards.<sup>4</sup>

By March 16, 1721, the king seems to have returned in some degree to his original intent, as expressed in the *cédula* of November 1, 1719. In 1720 (August 16), the viceroy had written to the king, telling him that notwithstanding the fact that the premises of the king's previous orders had been changed by the suspension of arms, he had, nevertheless, sent Aguayo to establish a *presidio* among the Cadodachos, and to increase the forces occupying Texas. In the *cédula* of March 16, 1721, the king approved these

<sup>1</sup>Reales Cédulas, May 26, 1729.

<sup>2</sup>Reales Cédulas, May 26, 1729.

<sup>3</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 2.

<sup>4</sup>With the instruction regarding the maintenance of a defensive war only, Aguayo was disappointed (*Derrotero*, 2), and in 1723, when writing to the viceroy, he says that at the time of the expedition he had urged the importance of acquiring "Natchitos and the Caddodachos" (*Autos fechos en la Bahía de el espíritu santo sobre dos muertes que executaron los Indios, 1724*, Provincias Internas, 181, in B. MS.). And with the idea of receiving French deserters into the Spanish service, he was much disgusted. He said that His Majesty evidently did not know the difference between deserters in America and those in Europe (*Ibid.*).

measures of the viceroy, and ordered that "if the French make any movement in continuance of their designs, you will have them thrust by force from the province of Texas and from the rest of what they have occupied in the last war."<sup>1</sup>

On May 26, 1721, due doubtless to the treaty made between the two countries, the king ordered the viceroy to suspend immediately the execution of what he had ordered in his *cédulas* of November 19, 1719, and March 16, 1720, though still approving the plan for the erection of a *presidio* at the Cadodachos and the occupation of Espiritu Santo Bay.<sup>2</sup>

3. *Espinosa's Work of Preparation.*—As we have seen, Father Espinosa had left the retreating party of Spaniards at the Trinity, and had gone to hurry up matters. He had gone first to the Rio Grande and finally to Mexico, where he was influential in bringing about the expedition that was to reoccupy eastern Texas. On his way he had met the new governor, Aguayo, at Monclova, and, arrived at the City, he used his personal influence with the viceroy and the judges. What he urged most persistently was the sending of married soldiers and settlers, included in which should be mechanics and craftsmen—all to go voluntarily and be paid by the government for two years in advance. The head of a family was to receive what was equal to a soldier's salary for a year, while the wife and the boys over fifteen were to receive half as much. The settlers, on their arrival in Texas, were to be given land, which could be transmitted from father to son. Espinosa reasoned that this arrangement would insure the parents' interest in Texas for their children's welfare, and the latter's interest, as in their fatherland.

Before he left the City, Espinosa succeeded in securing a vice-regal decree embodying what he desired relative to the families, and he had also gotten seven, who were in distress, to volunteer to go to Texas. He was, however, disappointed in the final outcome and arrangements, for the rest of the expedition was not so selected, but was recruited from different cities, and in general from the jails.<sup>3</sup> At any rate, the families must have played a

<sup>1</sup>Royal *Cédula*, March 21, 1721, in *Reales Cédulas*, 1721, Tomo 42, B. MS.

<sup>2</sup>Royal *Cédula*, May 26, 1721, in *Reales Cédulas*, 1721, Tomo 42, B. MS.

<sup>3</sup>Espinosa, *Chronica*, 455. Miss Austin, "Municipal Government of San Fernando de Bexar," in *THE QUARTERLY*, VIII, 289, says, "some time after

minor part in the expedition, for they are mentioned but once in the *Derrotero*,<sup>1</sup> and Espinosa says no more about them.

4. *Supplies and Recruits*.—Preparations for the expedition went on apace. On receipt of the news of the trouble in Texas the viceroy had ordered Aguayo to raise as large a company as possible in Saltillo and Parras. By September 5, the latter had recruited and fitted out at Saltillo, partly from his private funds, eighty-four men. When Aguayo received his commission as governor and as the head of the force that was to reoccupy Texas, he repaired to Monclova, October 21, 1719. He found the forces on that frontier scarce, and, at his instance, the viceroy decided to recruit five hundred in the districts of Zelaya, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and Aguas Calientes. As for funds, the viceroy appropriated thirty-seven thousand *pesos*, and advanced a year's salary of four hundred and fifty *pesos* to each soldier. Aguayo had used nine thousand of his own in recruiting and fitting out the eighty-four men at Saltillo. After much trouble and delay, caused by the extreme drought, some three thousand nine hundred and fifty horses were secured. By the middle of October, 1720, the trains of six hundred mules<sup>2</sup> with the clothing, arms, powder, and six cannon reached Monclova from the City of Mexico.

Interesting light is thrown on the make-up of this expedition through abuses which occurred in gathering recruits in the jurisdiction of Zelaya.<sup>3</sup> If we may judge that the preparation and make-up of this expedition was typical of all the early ones sent to Texas, as perhaps we may with safety, we must draw sad conclusions concerning their disorganization, disregard of viceregal orders, and the tatterdemalion character of the crowd sent to Texas.

Aguayo entered Texas. Espinosa went to Mexico and laid before the viceroy his plans" (for the sending of families). In the same paragraph the statement is made that "with these recruits he joined Aguayo in his expedition into Texas." The first phrase is evidently just a slip, meant for "some time *before* Aguayo entered Texas," etc.

<sup>1</sup>Thirty-one of the soldiers left at los Adaes were accompanied by their families. *Derrotero*, 23.

<sup>2</sup>Two hundred of the mules were sent ahead with provisions to San Antonio, leaving four hundred for the expedition. Aguayo arranged to forward five hundred more. Peña, *Derrotero*, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup>Celaya, northwest of Mexico City, in the state of Guanajuato, was one of the military outposts founded before 1570 to guard the highway to the rich districts which were being opened up in the northwest. Baneroff, *History of Mexico*, II, 655.

Zelaya was one of the districts chosen by the viceroy to supply the men for the expedition. Its quota was to be one hundred and twenty men and five hundred horses. Pedro de Guinda and Antonio Cobian Busto, Aguayo's representative sent to oversee the work, reported gross abuses on the part of the *alcalde mayor* of Zelaya in the work of recruiting. Guinda's letter stated that the *alcalde* had expressed himself as well pleased with the levy, since he could benefit his jurisdiction by thus getting rid of its vagabonds, and was willing to supply two hundred men instead of the one hundred and twenty; that he had appointed an excessive number of commissioners to carry out his plans; and that these, availing themselves of their position, had pressed into service two hundred and fifty men, forcibly relieving them of their private possessions, such as spurs, harness, saddles, horses, etc.; but that though they had impressed two hundred and fifty men, they had finally reported but one hundred and seventeen, having used the surplus to their own advantage by releasing such as were able to buy their freedom; and finally that of the one hundred and ten accepted out of the one hundred and seventeen, only twenty-seven were married, whereas the viceroy's order had required the recruiting of married men accompanied by their families.

On the receipt of this report, the viceroy, May 13, 1720, ordered the *alcalde* of Querétaro, Bentura Jaque Lorio y Quiñones, to make a secret investigation of the conduct of the *alcalde* of Zelaya. As a result of the "process," the accused *alcalde* was almost completely exonerated. The testimony, in general, was to the effect: (1) that the reason only one hundred and seventeen were furnished was that, on various excuses, Guinda refused to accept many of those presented; and further that the *alcalde* had not promised two hundred men, as was charged, but had simply remarked that it would be easier to supply that number of men than five hundred horses; (2) that though some of the commissioners had been guilty of confiscating private property, all of it had been returned by the *alcalde*; (3) that the appointment of commissioners had been necessary, because as soon as the news of the levy had been received all the vagabonds had scattered, some to the mountains, and some to monasteries; (4) that the *alcalde* was not guilty of releasing men for pay, but that some had been given their freedom because they were respectable men (*hombres*

*de bien*"), an interesting commentary on those who were not released but were accepted for the expedition, and (5) that it was not that officer's fault that the wives and families did not accompany their husbands, for Guinda had rejected one hundred horses that might have served to transport the women, and moreover, had said that the families might wait till the following year and go in wagons.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the recruiting at Zelaya, on April 20, 1720, before a noatry public, the list of the one hundred and seventeen recruits was formally presented for inspection to the two attorneys, Guinda and Busto. Names were rejected, added, and again rejected, till the number that finally went was one hundred and ten. Most of the rejections were on the ground of physical infirmities. One was thrown out for debt, and one for being married to a mulatto. This is strange, since so many of the men accepted were mulattoes themselves. Some extracts from the list will show how detailed was the manner of registering recruits and reveal the low types of the men in Aguayo's command. Some of the entries read: "Antonio de Flores, *coyote*, single, inhabitant of this city [Zelaya], twenty-five years of age, tall, black hair—he has been in prison twenty-five days; Antonio Rodrigues, Spaniard, forty years of age, inhabitant of the town of San Juan del Rio, married to Juana de Dios, two children who are in that town—it is thirty days since he has been imprisoned; Juan Manuel Barrera, single, Spaniard, inhabitant of Esmiquilpa, eighteen years of age, dark complexioned, beardless,—he has been in prison twenty days; Bentura de Tobar, a free mulatto, single, inhabitant of this city [Zelaya], thirty-five years of age, good physique,—he has been in prison thirty days; Bernardo del Carpio, a free mulatto, inhabitant of Guadalajara, twenty-five years of age, small in body, blond, married in the city of Guadalajara to María Flores, Spanish, and has three children,"—and so on for the one hundred and seventeen. Of that number, seventeen were *mestizos*, twenty-one *coyotes*, forty-four Spaniards, thirty-one mulattoes, two *castizos*, one free negro, one Indian of Sapotlan, and one *lobo*;<sup>2</sup> one hundred and seven were taken

<sup>1</sup>The *alcalde* demanded satisfaction for the calumny he had suffered, and the case was still in dispute in December, 1720, before the royal *audiencia*, to whom the *alcalde* had appealed from the viceroy's decision.

<sup>2</sup>The distinction between *mestizo* and *coyote* is not clear. The two terms are now sometimes used synonymously to denote the offspring of a

from the jail, leaving ten of the expedition who were not jail birds; one of these went voluntarily, and one "was sent by his father." Though Guinda said that three men were accompanied by their wives, the certified list mentions but two, Gertrudes Sicilia, wife of Juan Cristóbal, and Ana María de Aleman, wife of Juan Carranca, the latter accompanied by their two children.

Another inspection was made on the 28th, when those unable to go by reason of infirmities were rejected. The next day the surgeon was called before the proper authorities to certify as to the physical infirmities of the sick, and on the same day the authorities proceeded to the public jail where the men were called out to start on the expedition to Texas.

5. *The Founding of the Mission San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo.*—While waiting for his supplies to reach Monclova, Aguayo, at the petition of Father Margil, who was waiting at San Antonio to join the expedition when it went to eastern Texas, gave permission for the founding of another mission at San Antonio. It was situated one league from the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, was called San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo, and was until 1722 the only one in San Antonio under charge of the College of Zacatecas. The viceroy approved its foundation, and provided that the customary aid be given it.<sup>1</sup>

A good deal of opposition to the establishment of the new mission seems to have been made on the part of the friars of the College of Querétaro. On February 23, 1720, a petition signed by Father Olivares of Mission San Antonio de Valero, the *alcalde*, and all the *cabildo*, was presented to Juan Valdez, lieutenant-general and *alcalde mayor* of the presidio and villa of Bexar. Its object was to ask him not to give possession of the necessary lands to the missionaries of the College of Zacatecas. The reasons assigned for their opposition were, first, that the viceroy Valero had given San Antonio and its vicinity to the College of Querétaro, and second, that the Indian nations for whom the mission was being erected, the Pampopas, Suliejames, and Pastias, were "*ab initio*"

Spanish father and an Indian mother. A *castizo* is the offspring of a *mestizo* father and a Spanish mother; a *lobo* the offspring of a father of mixed Chinese or Malaysian and negroid blood and a mulatto mother.—Luis Pérez Verdía, *Compendio de la Historia de México* (Paris and Mexico, 1906.)

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 1; Espinosa, *Chronica*, 455.

enemies of those at the Mission of Valero, and trouble would be the inevitable result.<sup>1</sup>

Váldez, however, in obedience to orders, was constrained to refuse the request, and required that the missionaries of both colleges, Captain Alonzo de Cárdenas and his company of eighty men, his sergeant, Nicolás Flores y Valdez, and Captain Lorenzo García, the last two having seen such a ceremony performed before, to accompany him to witness the formal giving of possession.<sup>2</sup> The founding was probably early in March, 1720.

#### IV. THE EXPEDITION

1. *From Monclova to the Rio Grande.*—Our story of the expedition is obtained in the main from the diary of Peña, the chaplain, who accompanied it.<sup>3</sup> Aguayo divided the five hundred men<sup>4</sup> into eight companies and organized a battalion of mounted infantry, which he called San Miguel de Aragón. The following officers were selected: lieutenant-governor and captain general, Fernando Pérez de Almazán; captains, Tomás de Zubiría, Miguel Colón, Manuel de Herrera, Francisco Becerra Luque, Gabriel Cos-

<sup>1</sup>*Opposicion a la fundacion de la Mission de San Joseph del rio de San Antonio año de 1720.* Santa Cruz de Queretaro, K N 5, Leg. 4, in B. MS.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>As seen in the bibliographical notes, this is the official copy of the itinerary of the expedition, printed in Mexico, 1722. Another copy of the itinerary of this expedition exists in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVIII. The latter copy has many errors. The most important of those which have an essential bearing on the narration will be noticed as the narrative proceeds.

<sup>4</sup>It is difficult to say just what number of men Aguayo took to Texas. Bonilla (*Breve Compendio*, in *THE QUARTERLY*, VIII. 32), says it was five hundred dragoons and two companies of cavalry. As Miss West pointed out (*Ibid.*), the *Testimonio* (Sec. 31), says five hundred mounted troops; the *Derrotero*, as has already been seen mentions five hundred and eighty-four in all, the eighty-four being those raised earlier in Saltillo (folio 10). On folio 3 of the same *Derrotero* the statement is made that Aguayo made a battalion of mounted infantry, "forming the five hundred men into eight companies." The fact probably is that all told there were five hundred men when the expedition left Monclova. The two companies of cavalry mentioned by Bonilla were probably an addition made at the Rio Grande, for the *Derrotero* (3), says, "Captain D. Alonzo de Cardenas and Captain D. Juan Cortinas, with the soldiers which they had in their companies, also set out" from the Rio Grande to Texas. Aguayo had much trouble with deserters. To such an extent did the practice of deserting grow that the commander was compelled to inflict the death sentence upon several for the admonition of the rest (*Diferentes Autos y otras providencias dictadas por el Govor. Marques de S. Miguel de Aguayo*, Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobierno, Saltillo, año de 1720, in B. MS.).

tales, Joseph de Arroyo, Pedro Oribe, and Juan Cantú. Of these Pérez de Almazán later became prominent as governor of Texas. Great ceremony marked the initial steps of the expedition. Three standards were blessed, one bearing a picture of Our Lady of Pilar, San Miguel, and San Rafael, with the motto inscribed, "*Pugnate pro Fide et Rege*"; the second having a picture of our Lady of Guadalupe, San Miguel, and San Francisco Xavier; while on the third was their patron saint, James. Mass was duly celebrated, and the day was made a feast in general.<sup>1</sup>

Aguayo, detained by duties of his new office, in order to insure the proper forwarding of provisions for the expedition from Mexico after his departure, on November 16, 1720, sent forward his train under his lieutenant Almazán. Its composition was as follows: a picket of veteran soldiers who were familiar with the road, the equipage, the companies in the order of their seniority, the baggage, provisions, munitions of war, and, finally, the droves of animals.<sup>2</sup>

Delayed three weeks in crossing the Sabinas, the one considerable stream between Monclova and the Rio Grande, the expedition did not reach the latter river<sup>3</sup> until December 20. On account of its swollen condition, the passage was not begun until after Christmas. Canocs had to be constructed, because those which the Indians made, of wood covered with skin, proved useless for lack of resin. Finally a raft of ten beams floated on barrels was successfully used. Such was the excess of cold, sleet, and snow, Father Peña tells us, that in effecting the crossing the force had to take advantage of rainy days, when the temperature moderated. The passage was finally accomplished by fifty swimmers pulling the raft after them and bearing but six "cargoes" at a time. The expedition was thus delayed till March 23, 1721. Aguayo and Father Espinosa joined the expedition before its crossing, evidently immediately after Christmas, and a few days later, Doctor

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 2.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>The *Derrotero* does not mention the place at which they crossed the river, but it was probably at the Mission San Juan Bautista, for that mission was on the road usually followed, and the account mentions that the expedition was joined by Benito Sanchez, a missionary "who was at the mission of San Juan Bautista of the Presidio of Rio Grande del Norte" (*Derrotero*, 2).

Joseph Codallos y Rabal, who was coming to Texas as vicar-general of the Bishop of Guadalajara.<sup>1</sup> The expedition was further increased by the companies of Juan Cortinas and Alonso de Cardenas, and a Texas missionary, Benito Sánchez,<sup>2</sup> who was then at the Mission of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande.

2. *Rumors of St. Denis.*—While on the Rio Grande, Aguayo February 2, 1720, received disquieting tidings from Captain Mathías García, of the *presidio* of San Antonio de Béxar. García had been informed by some Sanas<sup>3</sup> Indians that St. Denis and other Frenchmen, with unknown designs, were in convocation with many Indian nations thirty miles from García's *presidio*. A council of war, held by Aguayo, immediately despatched one hundred and sixteen men with Captains Tomás de Zubiría and Miguel Colón under Lieutenant-Governor Almazán to investigate the report. In the meantime García had sent out for the same purpose Juan Rodríguez, a chief of the Ranchería Grande Indians, who was then in San Antonio petitioning that a mission be founded for fifty families of his nation. Juan Rodríguez returned February 25, stating that he had gone to the neighborhood of the Brazos, but had not dared to go farther; that he had not seen any of the Indians of the Ranchería Grande, whose settlement he would have passed in the distance he had covered, and who, he supposed, were at the convocation; that this supposition had, in fact, been confirmed by a Sanas Indian, who said that the Ranchería Grande Indians were at St. Denis's convocation, with many other nations, all of whom were well equipped with horses and guns, and that the gathering was between the two branches of the Brazos, above the Ténas road.<sup>4</sup>

On account of these disquieting rumors, Aguayo hastened his passage of the Rio Grande, and set out for San Antonio March 24. In the main, his route lay on the *camino real*, the royal high-

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 2 and 3.

<sup>2</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 3. Benito Sánchez had accompanied the Ramón expedition in 1716. *Representacion hecha a su Exa por los R. R. Padres Misioneros*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 165. He had had charge of the Mission of San Joseph de los Nazonis, and had probably come as far as the Rio Grande with Espinosa, when the latter was on his way to Mexico in 1719.

<sup>3</sup>The *Memorias* copy spells this Samas. *Colección de Memorias*, XXVIII, 6.

<sup>4</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 3.

way, then apparently well established, though now and then the expedition had to make short detours in order to avoid the brush on the road. On April 4 they reached the *presidio* of San Antonio, and went immediately to the mission of San Antonio de Valero, where their arrival was joyously celebrated.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Aguayo's Activities at San Antonio.*—The expedition was here joined by Father Margil, of the Zacatecan missions, and by Fathers Gabriel Vergara,<sup>2</sup> Joseph Guerra,<sup>3</sup> Joseph Rodríguez, and Brothers Joseph Albadadejo and Joseph Pita.<sup>4</sup> Since it was near the advent of Holy Week, and the troops were in need of rest, Aguayo was prevailed upon to delay his march for a short time. To keep the men busy, however, he sent out an expedition to hunt for the salt deposits said to be near San Antonio, and made several minor raids to check the Indians who infested the nearby districts. He was further anxious to establish amicable relations with the much dreaded Apaches.<sup>5</sup>

While still at the Rio Grande, Aguayo had sent forward a company of forty soldiers, as a vanguard, under Captain Domingo Ramón to occupy Espiritu Santo Bay. This company probably came as far as San Antonio with the detachment under Almazán.<sup>6</sup> At any rate, it left that place for Espiritu Santo March 10. Not having heard from it since its departure, on April 4, the day of his arrival at San Antonio, Aguayo despatched four trusty Indians to find out something about it. On the 18th, a lieutenant and four soldiers brought the news that Ramón had taken possession of La Bahía or Espiritu Santo, in the name of His Majesty,

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 5.

<sup>2</sup>Gabriel Vergara was one of the Querétaran missionaries accompanying the Ramón expedition, 1716. *Representacion hecha a su Exa por los R. R. Padres Misioneros*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 165.

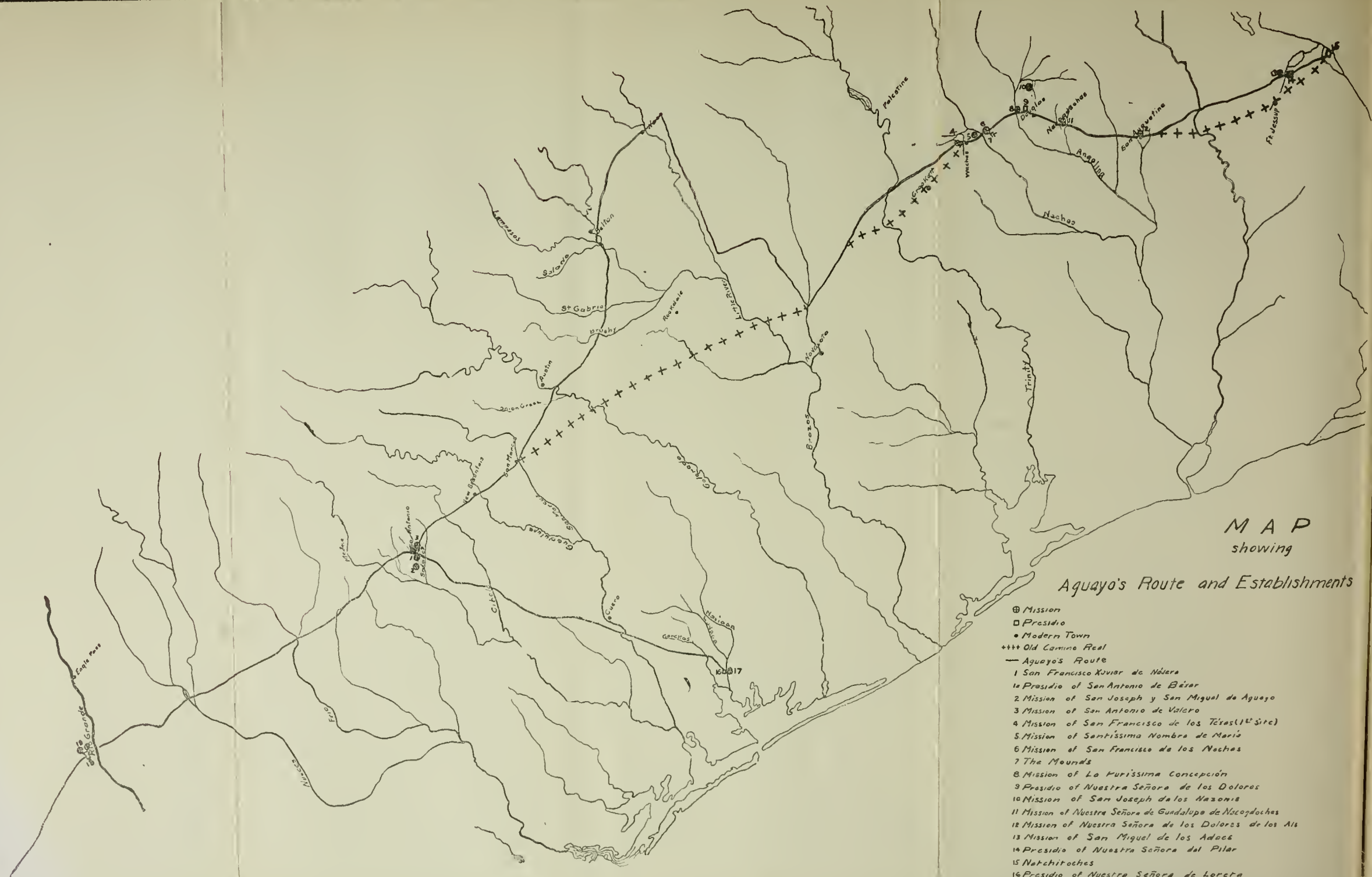
<sup>3</sup>The *Memorias* copy omits the names of Vergara and Guerra. *Colección de Memorias*, XXVIII, 11-12.

<sup>4</sup>Brother Pita was killed while on this expedition by a party of Apaches while he was attached to a company bearing a supply of provisions. See Aguayo to Auditor de la Guerra, in *Autos sobre diferentes puntos consultados por el Gobernador de la Provincia de los Têxas*, etc., Año de 1724, in B. MS.

<sup>5</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 5.

<sup>6</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 6, says that being uneasy about the company under Ramón which he had sent from the Rio Grande "with the detachment, Aguayo" . . ., referring evidently to the detachment under Almazán, which had come to investigate rumors of the French and Indian convocation.





# MAP showing

## Aguayo's Route and Establishments

- ⊕ Mission
- Presidio
- Modern Town
- +++ Old Camino Real
- Aguayo's Route
- 1 San Francisco Xavier de Nájera
- 2 Mission of San Antonio de Béjar
- 3 Mission of San Antonio de Valero
- 4 Mission of San Francisco de los Tejas (1<sup>st</sup> Site)
- 5 Mission of Santísima Nombre de María
- 6 Mission of San Francisco de los Nuevos
- 7 The Mounds
- 8 Mission of La Purísima Concepción
- 9 Presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores
- 10 Mission of San José de los Nazarenos
- 11 Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nisogoches
- 12 Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais
- 13 Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes
- 14 Presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar
- 15 Natchitoches
- 16 Presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreta
- 17 Mission of Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga
- 18 Presidio of the Rio Grande
- 19 Missions of San Juan Baptista

and had raised the cross and royal standard on April 4.<sup>1</sup> Ramón reported also that for lack of timber for building a canoe he had as yet not been able to sound the harbor. However, he described the place as a beautiful one, whose harbor could accommodate many ships. The news was duly celebrated at San Antonio. On the 26th the Marquis sent a messenger to the viceroy, informing him that possession had been taken of Espíritu Santo. Further, he assured him that he was ready to resume his march for eastern Texas, but made patent to his excellency the difficulty of keeping the army properly sustained at the distance of four hundred leagues from the base of supplies, and asked permission to start a ship plying between Vera Cruz and La Bahía, offering to bear all the expenses. Presuming that this request would be granted, he wrote at the same time to his attorney in Mexico to buy or rent such a vessel and fit it out with the requisite provisions.<sup>2</sup>

4. *The Route from San Antonio to the Neches.*—On the 10th of May, Aguayo ordered that the expedition be in readiness to start again on the 13th. It had been decided in a council of war to abandon the old Texas road now, where great and many obstacles would be found in the form of brush, lagoons, large overflowing rivers, and in an unbroken course of from fifty to sixty miles through the *monte grande*, or Cross Timbers. Under the guidance of the Indian chief, Juan Rodríguez, they were to seek another route higher up, where the country was said to be plain and free from brush, where the rivers were divided into many smaller branches, and by which route the Cross Timbers would be avoided. The country through which their chosen route lay was infested with Indian enemies and great care was taken to insure the proper disposition of the military guards on the march.

A study of Aguayo's route may be more profitable if it is compared with the earlier and some of the later courses followed by the expeditions into eastern Texas.<sup>3</sup> So varied and distinct were

<sup>1</sup>The lieutenant said that thirty-two days had been consumed on the whole trip. The expedition had left San Antonio March 10, and arrived at La Bahía April 4. The lieutenant returned to San Antonio April 18, and it had taken him six days to make the return trip. He must, therefore, have left Bahía on the 12th, after having been there since the 4th.

<sup>2</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 6.

<sup>3</sup>The statements which follow lay no claim to strict accuracy. They purport to describe in merely a general way the various routes studied. A

the early routes broken by the pathfinders, and so profusely and promiscuously were names scattered on the rivers, that it is hard to make any safe generalizations. One of the most patent facts, however, is that the routes moved back from the coast, west, as far as San Antonio, and thence north and east to eastern Texas, a fairly well established road being finally laid out. However, of all the diaries studied no two seem to follow exactly the same course. De León, the leader of the first expedition to eastern Texas (1690), crossed the country far to the south and east, passing the Guadalupe, roughly speaking, in the vicinity of Victoria, turning east to La Bahía, and then northeast to the T<sup>é</sup>xas country. The expedition under Terán (1691), was the first to break the road from the Hondo to San Antonio, and to cross the San Marcos and Guadalupe as two rivers. He apparently crossed the Colorado near La Grange, the Brazos near Bryan, and the Trinity, just north of Falba in Walker County, about at the point where De León had struck it in 1690. In 1709, Fathers Espinosa and Olivares took the road still farther north, crossing the Colorado not far below Austin; while in 1716, Ramón, after crossing the Colorado near the same point, sought a new route, going as far north as the San Gabriel before turning east to the T<sup>é</sup>xas country. It will be seen that Aguayo, determined to avoid the *monte grande*, which started just east of the San Gabriel, led his expedition still farther north, not turning east till he struck the Brazos near Waco, and then going south and east to reach the old highway.<sup>1</sup>

greater degree of certainty is felt when speaking of the routes of the later expeditions. The earlier writers, being the pathfinders, were under the difficulty of having no known land marks by which to describe their march.

"The time has arrived for giving attention to the myth that St. Denis "laid out the old San Antonio road." Starting with Yoakum, it seems, it has taken deep hold upon the credence and the imagination of readers of Texas history, and is glibly and trustfully repeated on all occasions, and even incorporated in maps and serious works. Yoakum's words are: "He [St. Denis] did them [the Spaniards] one good service; he laid out the great thoroughfare through Texas, known as the old San Antonio road, which, first traveled in 1714, has been, for a hundred and forty years, the great highway of travel for pleasure and business, for plunder and war" (Chapter VI).

This "laying out" of the road has been understood in its full literalness. Indeed, an intelligent man high in office recently told me of two rows of shrubs, still growing, which St. Denis planted by this famous road! Another man of my acquaintance was seriously taught in school that St. Denis "grubbed" the trees from the road clear across the State! The absurdity

Aguayo's route, somewhat in detail, was as follows: On the 13th the long and tedious journey began. Starting northeast, it lay by the irrigating ditch of the mission of San Antonio de Valero, then veered to the east, northeast, when the expedition halted two days on both the Salado and Cíbola creeks.<sup>1</sup>

of such notions is apparent when one reflects that St. Denis merely passed on horseback at the rate of many miles a day, with a few companions, from Natchitoches to the Rio Grande in 1714-1715, when he is alleged to have "laid out" the road, and back again under similar circumstances in 1716, serving as guide part of the way for the Ramón party. (Of another trip which he subsequently made very little is known). At best he could have done no more than designate, by following it, the route which later became the old San Antonio road. If he had done even this much there might be no occasion for finding fault with the tradition as stated by Yoakum. But there is no evidence that he did.

As a matter of fact, no one knows with any definiteness what route St. Denis followed across Texas in 1714-1715, for his report of the journey is given in only the most general terms (*Declaración*, in *Memorias de Nueva España*, Vol. XXVII, 121-131; the same in Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 202, 211). As Miss Buckley has shown, the Ramón expedition, of which St. Denis acted as guide for a part of the way, could not have "laid out" the old San Antonio road, as it has been known to Americans, since from San Antonio to the Brazos, at least, its route was far to the north of the later famous highway, striking the Brazos above the mouth of Little River.

As is seen from the text below, the Aguayo expedition went nearly straight north from San Marcos to Waco, while Rivera's route in 1727 was in general that of Ramón, at least as far as the Little River. As to the eastern part of the route, there are indications that from the Trinity to the Neches it, too, lay somewhat north of the old San Antonio road, striking it again west of the Neches and following it pretty continuously thence to San Augustine.

Thus we may say that while the seventeenth century routes lay far south of the old San Antonio road, that of Terán coming nearest following it, the notable expeditions of the early eighteenth century went by routes far to the north of it, especially from San Antonio to the Brazos. For the period from 1727 to 1767 we have no diaries across Texas, but it is interesting to note that there is evidence that by the middle of the century the direct route from San Antonio to the Trinity was abandoned for the Bahía road, through fear of Apaches.

Just when the old San Antonio road as known to Americans was "laid out," and when it became the established trail—for it could have been little more than a trail—does not appear, but the large element of error in Yoakum's statement and the absurdity of some of the popular impressions about it are evident.

H. E. B.

Mention is first made of an arroyo "*salogre*" (salty, which is also the meaning of the word *salado*) in the vicinity northeast of San Antonio, in the 1709 diary of Fathers Espinosa and Olivares (entry for April 13), though the name is not definitely applied. The first definite application of Salado, in the available Spanish diaries, to the river that still bears the name, is in the Espinosa *Diario* (entry for May 16, 1716), and in the Ramón *Derrotero* of the same expedition. Entry for the same day). They both speak of it as though they knew of it by that name. Ramón evidently had the statement of the 1709 diary in mind when he said, "We

From the Cíbola the expedition traveled over plains, which were described as literally covered with flowers, till on the 17th they crossed three rivers. The first they call San Pascual Baylon, the second they identified as the Guadalupe, and the third they named the San Ybon.<sup>1</sup> The one which they identified as the Guadalupe was undoubtedly the present Comal River, and their crossing was very nearly at the spot where New Braunfels now stands; the

reached the Salado River, though not [called that] because it is [salty]" (*no porque lo sea*). The same river kept that name through all later Spanish diaries. See Peña, *Derrotero*, entry for May 13, 1720; Rivera, *Diario*, in B. MS., entry for August 18, 1727; De la Forá, *Diario*, in B. MS., entry for August 25, 1767.

Cibola Creek is first found with that name in Spanish documents in the Peña *Derrotero* (entry for May 15, 1720). As near as can be ascertained, what corresponds to the present Cíbola was called by Terán in 1691 the San Ygnacio de Loyola (*Diario*, entry for June 15, *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 23-74), and by Father Massanet, on the same expedition, Santa Crecencia (*Diario*, entry for June 15, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 87-111). It is not named at all in the Espinosa *Diario* of 1716, but the father describes a river in that locality as stagnant, and the Cíbola was always so described. Ramón called it the San Xavier (*Derrotero*, entry for May 17, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII, 135-162). From Aguayo's time on it is called the Cíbola. Its name probably came from the abundance of buffalo in that neighborhood. See Terán, *Demarcación*, entry for June 15, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVIII. For references in the later diaries, see Rivera, *Diario*, entry for August 18, 1727, and De la Forá, entry for August 26, 1767, in B. MS.

<sup>1</sup>The name Guadalupe was given this river, though lower in its course, as far back as 1689 (De León, *Diario*, entry for April 14, 1689), and was applied and kept more consistently thereafter than the names given other rivers. Massanet and Terán recognized it when they crossed it some ten or twelve miles above where it joins with the San Marcos (Massanet, *Diario*, entry for June 19). Terán, given to changing names, renamed it the San Agustine (*Demarcación*, entry for June 19, 1791). In 1709 Fathers Espinosa and Olivares called it the Guadalupe, when they crossed it perhaps a little north of where Terán had done so (*Diario*, entry for April 14, 1709). It is interesting to note that the Espinosa *Diario* and the Ramón *Derrotero* (entries for May 17), like Peña, called the present Comal the Guadalupe and the present Guadalupe, the San Ybon. Espinosa described what they called the Guadalupe, but is the Comal, as having its sources in three springs. This statement is supplemented by Ramón, who says that the source was but a gunshot from their crossing. Both, like Peña, state that the sources of the San Ybon were far to the north. Espinosa says that, though it joins the Guadalupe, it is not a branch of it, for its sources are very distant, meaning, doubtless, that it was by far the larger of the two. Though Peña says his expedition named the San Ybon, it in reality but renamed it. The name Guadalupe still clung to the Comal in 1727, when Rivera crossed it. He, however, applied the name to the present Guadalupe. He says that he crossed a "spring of water [which is equal to a considerable river] which they call the Guadalupe, and at a short distance from this I crossed the River of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe" (*Diario*, entry for August 19, 1727).

one they named the San Ybon was the present Guadalupe. For Peña describes their crossing of the former as being one-fourth of a league from the well known springs that are the source of the Comal, while the latter river he describes as having a deep bed, subject to overflows, with its sources, lying far to the north, as not having then been discovered. The crystalline water of the former, the luxuriant growth, and the surrounding plains, attracted attention to the locality as a suitable place for settlement.

With the route still lying to the northeast, with veerings to the east-north-east, by May 20, they had crossed the San Marcos,<sup>1</sup> not recognizing it by that name, however. Its lower branches they named las Penuelas, the river proper, los Ynocentes, and modern Plum Creek, the San Raphael.<sup>2</sup> At this last river a squad of Sanas Indians fitted out with horses, pikes, and arrows, and whom Aguayo himself had provided with clothes while at San Antonio, were waiting to renew their allegiance to the Spanish King.

Continuing in a direction more north than east, on May 22, the

<sup>1</sup>The name San Marcos was given a river in Texas on the first expedition into eastern Texas (De León, *Derrotero*, entry for April 26, 1689). The river to which it was given, however, while thought by some to be the modern Colorado, was probably not such, as this is too far north for the distance mentioned in the *Derrotero*. As far as distance and direction are concerned, the Navidad would meet the specifications of the *Derrotero*. As the first considerable river after the Guadalupe had been called the San Marcos, when the route through Texas was pushed west and north, the name San Marcos was carried with it and applied to the present river of that name. Terán did not confuse it with the old San Marcos when he crossed it in 1691, but named it San Agustine (*Demarcación*, entry for June 19). It was given the correct name by Espinosa and Olivares in 1709 (*Diario*, entry of April 15), and by Ramón (*Derrotero*) and Espinosa (*Diario*), entries for May 20, 1716. Rivera (1727), like Aguayo, called it los Ynocentes (*Diario*, entry for August 20).

<sup>2</sup>The name San Raphael was applied to modern Plum Creek for the first time in Spanish diaries in 1709 (Espinosa and Olivares, *Diario*, entry for April 16), and so named for the patron saint of the expedition. Considering its comparative smallness, it enjoyed a rather unusual continuity of name. Ramón (*Derrotero*, entry for May 20) says he named it the San Raphael. Espinosa at the same time mentions it by this name, as does Rivera in 1727 (*Diario*, entry for August, 1727).

It is interesting to note that Espinosa and Olivares (*Diario*, entry for April 16, 1709), Ramón (*Derrotero*, entry for May 20, 1716), Espinosa (*Diario*, entry for May 20) and Peña (*Derrotero*, entry for May 20, 1719), all, shortly after leaving San Raphael, mention the passing of springs, evidently modern Lytton Springs. Ramón called the two springs San Ysidro y San Pedro del Nogal, Espinosa called one San Ysidro. Peña recognized the same springs as the San Ysidro. This is interesting as showing that the three routes lay at this point along the same course.

expedition reached the vicinity of the Colorado,<sup>1</sup> and camped on what is now Onion Creek,<sup>2</sup> crossing it later, apparently at the site of the present McKinney Falls. The crossing is described as being over "a strip of rocks which spans the river and makes a beautiful waterfall," distant some six or seven miles from the Colorado. The expedition was delayed in crossing the droves over the latter river, which is described as being twice the size of the former ones and as lined with trees and vines. From the time it crossed the Colorado, May 23 to May 31, the route took them over numberless little streams, crossing as many as twenty *arroyos* in one day.<sup>3</sup> The two considerable ones which they crossed, the Spaniards called Las Animas and San Xavier, doubtless the present Brushy Creek and San Gabriel River respectively.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Though Terán realized that the Colorado "on previous expeditions and on different routes had been named the San Marcos and the Colorado," he named it the San Pedro y San Pablo Apostoles (*Demarcación*, entry for June 28, 1691). In reality the name Colorado or Espíritu Santo had been applied in the previous expedition to the Brazos (De León, *Diario*, entry for May 14, 1690). With the adoption of a higher route, the name Colorado, as was the case with the San Marcos, was carried back and given to the present river of that name. In 1709 it was again called the Espíritu Santo or Colorado by Espinosa and Olivares (*Diario*, entry for April 17). This is due, doubtless, to the fact that they were following De León's diary, which gave that name to the present Brazos. Espinosa and Olivares, ignorant of the geography of the country, presumed, as did De León, that the river they would reach after the San Marcos would be the Espíritu Santo, or Colorado. In 1716 to Espinosa it was still the same; to Ramón it was simply the Colorado (*Diario* and *Derrotero*, entries for May 23). As Aguayo had not recognized the present San Marcos as such when he crossed it, he carried the name over to the next large river, and applied it to the Colorado. To Rivera this last named river was likewise the San Marcos (*Diario*, entry for August 23, 1727). To La Fora, 1767, it was again the Colorado (*Diario*, entry for August 29).

<sup>2</sup>They called this the Garrapatas. This name was first applied to a tributary of the Colorado in 1709 by Espinosa and Olivares (*Diario*, entry for April 16), on account of their unpleasant experience with the ticks (*garrapatas*). In 1716, Espinosa met his "old friends again," who were "this time somewhat more merciful," and again gave the stream the same name (*Diario*, entry for May 22). In 1727 it still had the unenviable name (Rivera, *Diario*, entry for August 27). As there are several small tributaries to the Colorado, all about the same size and bearing the same relative locations, different ones might have been given the same name on the different expeditions, without varying their descriptions or the route sensibly. But in the Peña diary, at least, the location is definitely identified by the description of the well known falls on Onion Creek.

<sup>3</sup>*Derrotero*, 9.

<sup>4</sup>The name Animas was given to Brushy Creek in 1716 by Espinosa, who called it "*de las benditas animas* (blessed souls), because we had commended our route to them" (*Diario*, entry for May 28). Ramón (*Derro-*

Taking a more northerly route than they had been hitherto following, on May 31st the Spaniards reached what is now Little River,<sup>1</sup> at a point about three-fourths the distance from Cameron to Belton. They were delayed three days before crossing because of the swollen condition of the river and because of steps that had been taken by a council of war. This council had sent out a detachment to reconnoiter the country, to look for the *Ranchería Grande*, a group of Indians who were usually to the eastward near the Brazos, and to ascertain what they could of the French and their Indian convocation in the same neighborhood. The Spaniards were at a total loss to know what was transpiring, for they had met no Indian on their route thus far. The reconnoitering party did not return until the 12th of June, after the main body had effected the crossing of Little River and had waited several days. The detachment had gone thirty leagues, but had seen nothing but the long deserted huts of the Indians. It confirmed the

*tero*, entry for May 28) and Rivera (*Diario*, entry for August 24) gave it the same name.

San Gabriel River was seen and named by Espinosa and Ramón in 1716 (*Diario* and *Derrotero*, entries for May 28). They called it the San Francisco Xavier. After Aguayo's the expeditions did not go that high up.

<sup>1</sup>The reasons for thus identifying the place are: (1) they struck the river thirteen leagues north of the San Xavier or San Gabriel; (2) they afterward learned that the river was the first of the two branches which were known as the Brazos de Dios, on the old Texas road, and that it was joined before the old road struck it by Las Animas and the San Xavier; (3) in order to effect a crossing, they had to go two leagues northwest, to where the river divided into three branches. These three branches would correspond to the modern Salado, the Lampasas, and the Little River proper. The distance between the crossings of the second and third branches was two and a half leagues, with a deep creek intervening, probably the present Stone Sound. They called the River Espíritu Santo (Holy Ghost), having reached it on the eve of Pentecost. As will be remembered, the Brazos had, in 1690, been given the name Espíritu Santo or Colorado by De León, who, however, had struck it before its branching (*Diario*, entry for May 14). In the next expedition, 1691, Massanet, though he knew that it had been called the Espíritu Santo, named it the San Francisco Solano (*Diario*, entry for July 24); while Terán, "though the natives called it the Colorado," named it the San Geronimo (*Demarcación*, entry for July 25). Espinosa and Ramón, in 1716, crossed Little River just above its junction with the Brazos. The former did not give it any name; the latter called it la Trinidad. Both of them called the Brazos proper la Trinidad, thinking, doubtless, that it was the river that De León had named thus in 1690 (*Diario* and *Derrotero*, entries for June 14). Rivera called it the "Colorado o de los Brazos de Dios" (*Diario*, entry for August 30). [It may be noted that the name los Brazos de Dios was applied to the Little River and to the main Brazos, and not to the main Brazos and the Little Brazos. H. E. B.]

opinion that the Little River was one of the branches of the Brazos de Dios (Arms of God).<sup>1</sup>

For some days Aguayo's route now lay almost directly north. Trying to avoid the rivers and lagoons, he followed thus the watershed of the tributaries of Little River and the main Brazos. Veering then to the northeast, he entered the brushy region of mesquite, and camped, June 18, a short distance from the main Brazos. The Spaniards named it the Jesus Nazareno. Judging from the direction followed from their crossing of Little River and the distance traveled, they must have struck the Brazos near the present site of the city of Waco. Further evidence to the same effect is the fact that a branch of the river, evidently the present Bosque, joined it half a league from their crossing.<sup>2</sup>

After crossing on the 19th, they continued east-northeast two days, when they turned and began their southward journey. From the 21st to the 26th inclusive, their direction was in the main southeast, and took them on a line parallel with and very close to the Brazos River. Their journey covered, first, flowery plains, then broken and plain ground, and finally woodland and vine-covered country.<sup>3</sup> For the next three days the route lay east and northeast—the purpose of this detour most probably being to seek higher ground. Approximately speaking, the course here took Aguayo and his party to about the center of Robertson county. The last part of the march lay in boggy, wooded land, with the ground covered with flint stones which wounded and poisoned the cattle.<sup>4</sup>

After again turning south, the march became more and more laborious, over swampy, marshy land, where the horses and droves slipped and bogged. Finally on July 2, after the main body had traveled six leagues southeast, word was brought back by scouts that three more leagues would bring the expedition to the "old Texas road." By great effort the mounted battalion managed to make the distance, but the rest of the expedition, infantry and cattle, were left scattered about to be brought up later. They

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotcro*, 10.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 11. The surrounding country is described as exceedingly woody. This is probably the origin of the name of Bosque River, *bosque* meaning woods.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 11-12.



that river, he loaded two mules which he sent back to their people with a Spanish interpreter named Nicolás Santos.<sup>1</sup>

On the same day, July 9, the march was resumed and the Trinity<sup>2</sup> reached. Sixteen days were spent before the crossing was effected. This was finally done by means of a canoe which the missionaries had built on their retreat from eastern Texas in 1719. On the 25th Aguayo was met by the cazique of the Aynay<sup>3</sup> tribe, recognized as head of the Assinai nations, and at whose "village the mission of La Purísima Concepción was founded in 1716."<sup>4</sup> He was accompanied by eight of the chief Indians and four women, among whom was one Angelina,<sup>5</sup> who had been raised on

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 14.

<sup>2</sup>The name Trinity dates back to 1690, when it was applied to this same river by De León (*Diario*, entry for May 19). In 1691, Massanet kept the name (*Diario*, entry for July 31), but Terán, though he said he knew it was called the Trinity, renamed it the Encarnación del Verbo (*Demarcación*, entry for August 1). In 1716, Espinosa named it the San Juan Bautista (*Diario*, entry for June 23). Ramón says that they now came to another river which the Indians told him was the Trinity; so he supposed that this one and the one that he had called the Trinity just before (the Brazos) joined far to the south and that De León had crossed them after their junction (*Derrotero*, entry for June 23). The later diaries retain the name Trinity consistently. See Rivera, *Diario*, entry for September 3, 1727; La Forá, *Diario*, entry for September; and Solís, *Diario*, entry for April 28, 1767. There are reasons for believing that not only the Aguayo route, but earlier and later ones, as well, crossed the Trinity, not at Randolph's Ferry, as has been supposed, because the old San Antonio road crossed it there, but above, at the next bend in the river, directly east of Centerville. Not only the distance and direction from the crossing of the Navasota to that of the Trinity indicate this, but especially the distance and the direction followed after crossing the latter river to reach the site of the first mission of San Francisco, which is now well established (Bolton, "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI, 263).

<sup>3</sup>The *Memorias* copy of the *Derrotero*, 23, says he was met by the cazique of the Adayes tribe. As will be seen later, he did not meet the latter until he sent for him, after the expedition reached los Adaes (*Derrotero*, 20).

<sup>4</sup>Bolton, "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI, 259.

<sup>5</sup>This Indian woman, Angelina, seems to have been a fairly well known character in early east Texas history, and it is to her that the Angelina River most probably owes its name. She lived among the Assinai tribe on the banks of that river, and mention is made of her in Spanish and French sources. In 1712, St. Denis's companions found among that tribe a woman named "Angelique," who had been baptized by Spanish priests "that had had a mission in their [the Assinai] village," and who spoke both Spanish and Texas (Margry, V, 500). In 1720, Belle-Isle deserted off the coast of Texas, and in trying to find his way to Louisiana was





St. Denis agreed to this. He was unable, however, says the account, to conceal his unwillingness to lose the latter place, and emphasized the unhealthfulness and unproductiveness of the locality,—as if, the Spanish writer continues, they who had had a mission there should not know whether the land was good or not. At any rate, St. Denis left, promising to retreat at once to Natchitoches.<sup>1</sup> When Aguayo reached Concepción, across the Angelina, August 6th, he was informed by Juan Rodríguez, his Indian guide, who in turn had received the facts from the surrounding Indians, that St. Denis, after his return from his interview with the Spaniards on the Neches, had tarried three days seven leagues from Concepción; and that he had had with him the Indians of the Cadodachos and other nations “whom since winter he had gathered to go to take possession of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and from there to San Antonio, but that this cloud had disappeared with the coming of the Spaniards.”<sup>2</sup>

5. *The Reoccupation of Eastern Texas.*—On the second of August, while still west of the Neches, Aguayo sent ahead two detachments, one with Father Joseph Guerra to the site of the second mission of San Francisco, the other under Fathers Gabriel Vergara and Benito Sánchez to the mission of Concepción, to rebuild the churches and houses.

(a) *The Refounding of the Mission of San Francisco de los T́exas.*—On the 3rd the expedition crossed the river, and on the 5th witnessed the formal re-establishment of the Mission of San Francisco de los Neches, “commonly called de los T́exas.”<sup>3</sup> Due solemnity and appropriate exercises marked the refounding, the

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 16.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 17. Cox, “The Louisiana-Texas Frontier,” in *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 13, without any direct reference to his authority, says that St. Denis came to report the withdrawal of the French to Natchitoches, and that “he, by means of his influence among the Indians, smoothed the way for the re-establishment of the Spanish at los Adaes.” None of the sources used for this paper gives the impression that he helped the Spaniards in any way.

<sup>3</sup>This mission has been located “at the Neches village close to the mounds and from two to four miles from the crossing” (Bolton, “Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions,” in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI, 262-263). Dr. Bolton has subsequently confirmed this opinion by a personal examination of the site, reaching the conclusion that the mission was doubtless on Bowles Creek, not far from the present crossing of that stream by the old San Antonio road.

order of ceremony being what, in general, was observed at the founding and refounding of all missions. Solemn high mass was celebrated, salutes fired, bells rung, bugles blown, and drums beaten; next Aguayo formally invested with a cane the one whom he had chosen captain of the tribe; then followed the distribution of clothing and gifts,—which in this case, we are told, was more lavish than had ever before been witnessed by the Indians. Father Espinosa, spokesman for the Spaniards, since he knew the Assinais language, explained that their coming was primarily through His Majesty's zeal for the salvation of the souls of the Indians, and that he was receiving them under his royal care to protect them from their enemies. This evidently referred to the French. Espinosa skillfully called their attention to the fact that while the French (their enemies) made them gifts with the view of receiving in return skins, buffaloes, horses, and especially their wives and children as slaves, the Spaniards, on the other hand, distributed most generously, yet asked for nothing. He was safe in making this assertion, for Peña says Aguayo had been careful not to accept a single skin from the Indians. Finally came the formal acts of possession, by which Aguayo, in the name of the king, gave the Indians the lands and waters nearby, and left in charge of the mission Father Joseph Guerra of the College of Querétaro.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of Espinosa's discourse, he had striven to impress on the natives the necessity of gathering into *pueblos*, around the mission, something that the Spaniards had always considered essential in their work among the Indians and something which these Indians always failed to do. They promised this time, however, that they would do so. Thus, in addition to the mission, Aguayo founded, prospectively, so to speak, the town which he expected they would form, naming it San Francisco de Valero.<sup>2</sup>

(b) *The Refounding of the Mission of La Purísima Concepción.*—Before crossing the Neeches, Aguayo had sent forward Fathers Benito Sánchez and Gabriel Vergara with a party to make ready the church and habitations at Concepción, beyond the Angelina. As soon as the ceremony of refounding San Francisco was over, Aguayo and his expedition set out, the same day, for the

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotcro*. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 16.

next mission. Traveling in a direction between northeast and east-northeast, they crossed the Angelina<sup>1</sup> on the 6th. This mission, which was the only one that had not been entirely destroyed, was less than half a league beyond the river. One league still farther on was the site of the *presidio* which had been erected in 1716 and abandoned in 1719, and it was here that the expedition camped.<sup>2</sup> The location of this mission has been described as follows: "Espinosa tells us that he founded the Mission of Concepción a mile or two east of the place where the highway crossed the Angelina, near two springs, in the middle of the Hanai village. This site could not have been far from Linwood crossing."<sup>3</sup>

The church was completed on the 7th, and Aguayo arranged that on the next day, the battalion, the companies of Alonso Cardenas and Juan Cortinas, and the eight companies that had made up the expedition from Monclova, making ten in all, should be present at the refounding. Father Margil celebrated mass, Father Espinosa preached "an eloquent and touching" sermon, while the Indians, "among them some eighty Cadodachos," were awed by the simultaneous discharge of the artillery and at the presence of so many Spaniards. Aguayo assured the natives that their occupation would this time be permanent. And to gain the good will of Cheocas, the Aynay chief, seeing that he had a large following, he requested the Indian to assemble his people, that gifts might be distributed among them. When the day came the eighty Cadodachos were present among the four hundred to be regaled. The Spanish commander took special pains to please these, sending clothes and trinkets to their people at home,—hoping thereby to gain their good will in advance of his arrival. The day's work was closed by the formal act of placing the College of Querétaro in possession through its representatives, Espinosa and Vergara,<sup>4</sup> and by the formal investiture of Cheocas as governor.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This expedition named it the Santa Barbara.

<sup>2</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 17.

<sup>3</sup>Bolton, "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI, 269. After a personal examination of the ground, Dr. Bolton has concluded that the site of the *presidio* was just west of the present town of Douglas, on Thomas Creek.

<sup>4</sup>Vergara had come with Ramón in 1716, and had been missionary at the same mission when it was first founded. He had joined the present expedition at San Antonio.

<sup>5</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 17.

(c) *The Refounding of Mission San Joseph de los Nazonis.*—On the 9th Aguayo sent a lieutenant with an escort and Father Benito Sánchez, to rebuild the church and priest's house at the Mission of San Joseph de los Nazonis, eight leagues northeastward from Concepción.<sup>1</sup> On the 13th, leaving the main part of the force to rest at Concepción, Aguayo passed to the Nazonis, and solemnly re-established the mission, leaving as missionary Benito Sánchez<sup>2</sup> of the College of Queretaro. This mission has been located "some fifteen or more miles northeast of the Hanai (i. e. Purísima Concepción) . . . by one of the southern tributaries of Shawnee Creek, near the north line of Nacogdoches County."<sup>3</sup>

(d) *The Refounding of the Presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.*—Aguayo returned to Concepción on the 15th, and installed Juan Cortinas and his company of twenty-five soldiers in the old *presidio* founded by Ramón, in 1716. The *presidio* was one league from the mission, which in turn was half a league from the Angelina. It occupied an advantageous position on a hill, overlooking the country, with the arroyo of Nuestra Señora de la Assumpción (evidently the first eastern branch of the Angelina) running at its base.<sup>4</sup> The fortifications were not outlined until Aguayo's return from los Adaes. The fort was to be square, with two bastions on diagonal corners, each to cover two wings, which were to be sixty *varas* in length.<sup>5</sup> The diary gives the impression that the company installed had formerly occupied the *presidio*. The company may have been the same, but Cortinas was evidently the captain at this time.

(e) *The Refounding of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches.*—On the same day, the 15th, the ex-

<sup>1</sup>The *Derrotero* says it was eight miles to the north. Espinosa, who founded it in 1716, says it was seven leagues northeast (Espinosa, *Diario*, entry for July 9).

<sup>2</sup>Benito Sanchez was the missionary left at San Joseph in 1716, when it was first founded (Espinosa, *Diario*, entry for July 9). He was of the party that retired in 1719, and was one of those who joined the Aguayo expedition at the Rio Grande in 1720 (*Derrotero*, 3).

<sup>3</sup>Bolton, "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI, 263. Dr. Bolton, on personal investigation, confirmed this opinion, and concluded further that the site of the mission was on Bill's Creek.

<sup>4</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 17.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 23.

pedition, took up the march for the next mission, at Nacogdoches.<sup>1</sup> On the 18th the new church was dedicated. Father Margil,<sup>2</sup> on behalf of the College of Zacatecas, received possession, and Father Joseph Rodríguez remained as missionary. Aguayo repeated the presentation of the silver-headed cane to the chosen captain, enjoined upon the Indians the formation of *pueblos*, distributed gifts lavishly, and clothed one hundred and ninety Indians.<sup>3</sup>

(f) *The Refounding of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Ais.*<sup>4</sup>—On the 21st of August, after traveling three days through lands of walnuts, pines, oaks, and glades, having had to bridge several streams,<sup>5</sup> the expedition camped one-fourth of a league beyond where the mission of Dolores had stood. The mission was rebuilt here, beside a stream, and near a spring of water, where the high and clear grounds and the surrounding plains offered inducements for planting.<sup>6</sup>

The distance and direction from Nacogdoches, the topographical evidence given by this and other diaries, tradition and present ruins, all unite in locating this mission at modern San Augustine.

<sup>1</sup>The Peña *Derrotero* gives the direction for the two days of travel as east-northeast and the distance from the *presidio* just left as eight leagues. The statement as to the direction is evidently a slip, due to faulty printing or carelessness on the part of the writer. Former diaries and later ones agree with each other and with the fact that the direction was east-southeast, and agree with the *Derrotero* that the distance was between eight and nine leagues (See Ramón, entry for July 8, 1716). Rivera says it was east (*Diario*, entry for September 9, 1727).

<sup>2</sup>Father Margil had been the original founder of this mission in 1716. It was the capital of the missions in Texas belonging to the College of Zacatecas.

<sup>3</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 18. This mission has been located at the modern town of Nacogdoches (Bolton, "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XI. 258).

<sup>4</sup>The *Derrotero* mentions this as Nuestra Señora de los Adaes. This is a slip or a misprint.

<sup>5</sup>The *Derrotero* says the expedition traveled east-northeast from Nacogdoches to reach the mission of Dolores. This is again a mistake; the sites of the two missions are well established. Later diaries give the correct direction (See Rivera, *Diario*, entry for September 10, 1727; La Fora, *Diario*, entry for September 7, 1767). The two main streams crossed by the expedition were the Amoladero and the Attoyac. In the *Derrotero* the former is called Todos Santos, but the latter is given no name at all. The first time we hear of the Attoyac by that name is in 1727 (Rivera, *Diario*, entry for September 11). From that time on the name must have been continuous, for La Fora (entry for September 14) and Solís (entry for May 4, 1767) call it the Attoyac.

<sup>6</sup>Father Joseph de Albadadejo was left in charge.

The stream at whose side it stood corresponds to Ayish Bayou, while springs are abundant about the city. In 1767, the soil around the mission was described as reddish and indicating a mineral composition, and the statement is made that gold had been found near by.<sup>1</sup> In the La Fora diary for 1767, the location of the mission is described as on a hill with a stream running at its base toward the west.<sup>2</sup> *The Telegraph and Texas Register* for September, 1837, states that "gold has been found near the Old Mission south of the City [of San Augustine]." Conclusive evidence, taken with the preceding, is furnished by a letter from Reverend G. L. Crockett, Rector of Christ's Church, San Augustine. He says that the site of the old mission lies half a mile south of the town on the old King's Highway, which strikes its southeast corner, as originally laid out, but now runs right through the town, and that the mission was located on a little conical rise at the edge of the bottom of Ayish Bayou. Its site is marked by a flat surface on the top of the little hill, in a somewhat quadrangular shape, which was evidently the location of the house. He supposes that the house was of logs, but it has entirely disappeared and no trace of it is left in the memory of any one in the town. He adds that outside this quadrangular space, graves have been opened, and that while trying to dig a well on the top of the hill, a grave was opened and a quantity of beads and other relics were dug up.<sup>3</sup>

(g) *The Refounding of the Mission San Miguel de los Adaes.*—On the 24th, Aguayo left Dolores for San Miguel. The route lay for the six days of his travel east-northeast, through brushy lands of walnuts, pines, and oaks, over glens and plains, and across

<sup>1</sup>Solís, *Diario*, entry for June 1, 1767.

<sup>2</sup>La Fora, *Diario*, entry for June 1, 1767.

<sup>3</sup>The letter adds that the ground on which the mission stood was leased to a lumber planer company for five years, and that they have established their office on the mission hill, while the planer is on the level below; and further, that there is a vague tradition that the missionaries were attacked by the Indians and threw their treasure into the Ayish Bayou. Futile attempts have been made to discover it. I wish here to acknowledge my deep appreciation of the above information so kindly given by the Rev. Mr. Crockett.

many streams. The most important of these were the modern Palo Guacho,<sup>1</sup> the Patroon<sup>2</sup> and the Sabine.

On the 29th he reached the site of the mission, and camped half a league beyond it. No Indians were found at los Adaes and parties were sent out to hunt for them. On September 1, the cazique of the Adaes nation with many of his following visited the Spanish camp. All expressed themselves as joyful at the return of the Spaniards, and explained that at the time of the French invasion they had been driven out of their land because they had shown regret at the Spanish departure. The French had, moreover, they said, taken some of the Adaes women and children as slaves, and had shown such hostility that the Indians were compelled to leave that locality and retire to a less fertile one higher up, hence their absence when the Spanish arrived. Learning now of Aguayo's intention to erect a *presidio* and a mission, they decided to return to their old home.<sup>3</sup>

The same day, September 1, Aguayo received a letter from Rerenor, the French commandant at Natchitoches. After the usual courtesies, it stated that St. Denis on his return from Texas in August, had immediately proceeded to Mobile, to inform the governor of the coming of the Spaniards. Therefore, Rerenor, not having orders to let the Spanish settle, asked the commander to abstain from definite action till St. Denis could return. In answer Aguayo wrote that, as "the matters of war could not be well settled by pen," he was sending his lieutenant Almazán and Captain Gabriel Costales to have a personal conference with the commandant at Natchitoches. The former were instructed to observe the situation and condition of the French post. Almazán explained to Rerenor that the Spaniards had come determined to occupy los Adaes, as they had already done at los T́exas, to rebuild the mission of San Miguel, and to erect a *presidio* on that frontier where might seem most fit. Rerenor replied that he had no definite orders either to agree to or to prohibit such an act, and that he would therefore be content with a mutual observation of

<sup>1</sup>The Palo Guacho is first called by that name in 1767 by La Fora (*Diario*, entry for September 8).

<sup>2</sup>The Patroon was mentioned by that name in 1727 by Rivera (*Diario*, entry of September 11), and in 1767 by La Fora (*Diario*, entry for September 9).

<sup>3</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 20.

the truce between Spain and France. Thus, the Spanish writer says, "was concluded the conquest and recovery of the province." December 10, 1721, Bienville, having evidently just heard of the Spanish reoccupation, entered a vigorous protest against it. Aguayo had already rebuilt the mission and added the *presidio* at los Adaes, and had been a month on his return march when this letter was written,<sup>1</sup> so that, aside from its expressing Bienville's sentiments, the letter was of no significance.

Aguayo delayed unusually long at this place, the cause doubtless being to see that nothing was left undone which would insure permanency to the new hold on that critical and important point. It was not till October 12 that the dedication of the new church and the *presidio* of Nuestra Señora del Pilar was celebrated. The latter was not completed until November 1. It was located one-half league beyond where the mission had formerly stood, by a spring or brook of water, on the side of a hill, where it could command the surrounding country. It was a hexagon, with three bastions, each covering two curtains, fifty *varas* in length. A hundred soldiers, thirty of whom were to be always on guard, were stationed at this *presidio*, and the only six pieces of cannon which had been brought from Mexico were left there.<sup>2</sup>

Opposite, one-fourth of a league from the *presidio* with a creek intervening, and also on a hill, was built the new mission of San Miguel de los Adaes. Father Margil, president of the Zacatecan missions, remained here in charge.<sup>3</sup> This relative position of mission and *presidio* is shown by Le Page du Pratz;<sup>4</sup> the intervening arroyo was probably the arroyo Hondo. The location of the *presidio* and mission is described by the *Derrotero* to be on "the camino real de Natchitoos," seven<sup>5</sup> leagues from the latter place, and about a league from the lagoon of los Adaes (Spanish Lake). As near as can be ascertained from distance and direction from the other missions and from other evidence, the establishment was near the present town of Robeline, Louisiana. A mission was founded for a colony of Mexicans in the early part of last century,

<sup>1</sup>Margry, VI, 225.

<sup>2</sup>The name of the captain left in charge is not given. Thirty-one of the soldiers left were accompanied by their families.

<sup>3</sup>Viliplana, *Vida del V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus*, 158.

<sup>4</sup>Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, I, 1.

<sup>5</sup>The *Derrotero* says seventy leagues. Evidently a misprint for seven.

about two miles west of Robeline, and went by the name of Adayes in the records and directories down to the seventies. This continuity of name, and, as far as can be ascertained, the approximate location, give reason to believe that the Mexican colony was settled at the site of the Spanish mission of 1721.<sup>1</sup>

While on his way from Mission Dolores to Mission San Miguel, Aguayo was overtaken by the messenger he had sent back to Mexico from San Antonio with instructions to his attorney to fit out a ship to ply between Vera Cruz and La Bahía with provisions for his expedition. The viceroy had approved the plan, and the ship had been bought. About the middle of October, while at los Adaes, Aguayo received word that the ship had safely reached La Bahía on September 8, bringing three hundred and fifty "cargoes" of flour, one hundred and fifty of corn, and other necessities for the soldiers. The news was a relief, for the corn in Texas had been failing, and great anxiety had been felt. On the 20th of October, forty of the "cargoes" arrived, on the mules which Aguayo had left in San Antonio for that purpose, and November 1, four hundred sheep and three hundred cattle reached los Adaes from the New Kingdom of León, some eight hundred miles distant.<sup>2</sup>

6. *The Return to San Antonio.*—With the Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes rebuilt, the *presidio* of Nuestra Señora del Pilar erected and garrisoned with one hundred men and six cannon, and with the good will of the Indians won, Aguayo was ready to take up his return march. He had intended to leave on November 12, but a violent sleet and snow storm delayed him. According to the *Derrotero*, the trees were so laden with ice that more than two thousand fell in the neighborhood, killing many horses and mules. The weather moderated, the cattle were herded, and the march began on the 17th. The return was without incident. At Mission Guadalupe, Aguayo received word of the royal *cédula* of May 26,<sup>3</sup> 1721. In this the king approved the *entrada*, renewed the order that no war be made on the French, ordered that the province be fortified with *presidios* wherever needed, and

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted for the information regarding the Mexican colony at Robeline to the Very Reverend Bishop Van de Ven of Natchitoches.

<sup>2</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 22.

<sup>3</sup>*Derrotero*, 23, gives the date as May 6, evidently just a slip.

that La Bahía, especially, be defended. In accordance with this order, the viceroy instructed Aguayo to add fifty picked men to those already at La Bahía. On November 29, the expedition reached the *presidio* of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, near Mission Concepción, and the commander outlined the fortifications.<sup>1</sup> December 9, near the Trinity, he met the second train of provisions from La Bahía, and sent some back to los Adaes. Seeing that the waters of the Trinity were down, and learning from his scouts that the Brazos was fordable, he determined to cut across, seventeen leagues through the cross timbers, to the old *camino real*. The withdrawal was slow and irregular, due to rain storms, cold spells, and lack of pasture, which greatly increased the mortality among the cattle. Most of the expedition was now on foot, even the Marquis now and then traveling thus. Eighty "cargoes" of provisions had to be left behind, with twenty soldiers to guard them, other soldiers were sent ahead to San Antonio to bring back provisions, while others were despatched to Saltillo to hasten the forwarding of supplies, which would be needed if those from the ship failed.

Finally, January 23, 1722, the expedition reached San Antonio. No lives had been lost, but out of five thousand horses only fifty returned, and of eight hundred mules only one hundred survived. Word was immediately sent the viceroy, informing him of the retirement of the expedition, and while here Aguayo received word from the viceroy, thanking him for what he had done for the advancement of Spain's interests in Texas.

7. *Further Activities at San Antonio.*—It will be remembered that Juan Rodríguez, the chief of the Ranchería Grande Indians, and the guide of this expedition, with fifty of his tribe, had been in San Antonio in February, 1720, petitioning the Spanish for a mission for his people, that Aguayo had promised that on his return from eastern Texas, he would comply with their wishes, and that he renewed this promise when he met the rest of the tribe just west of the Trinity on his way to the Texas.

(a) *The Founding of the Mission San Francisco Xavier de Nájera.*—Accordingly, after his return, March 10, 1722, he founded for the fifty families still in San Antonio, the mission of

<sup>1</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 23.

San Francisco Xavier de Nájera, on the San Antonio River, between the missions of San Antonio de Valero and San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo. Possession was given to the College of Querétaro, the *padre* being Father Joseph Gonzales.

Further light has been thrown on the scanty history of this mission by a study of the mission records at San Antonio, by Dr. H. E. Bolton, who states that the site of this mission was identical with that of the present mission Concepción.<sup>1</sup> The same authority says, in addition, "that the Hyerbipiamos [the people for whom the mission was destined] were kept separate for some time seems evident, for Juan Rodríguez was hereafter known as 'governor of the district (*barrio*) of the Hyerbipiamos,' and the baptisms while they were waiting for the actual foundation of the new mission, though performed at Valero, were recorded in a separate book. . . . This situation apparently continued till 1726, when the project of a separate mission was given up, for thereafter the baptisms of the Indians of this tribe are entered in the Valero book."<sup>2</sup>

(b) *The Erection of a New Presidio at San Antonio.*—Realizing that the existing *presidio* was exposed to fire, as the soldiers lived in *jacales* of grass, Aguayo began the erection of a new one, on another site. It was of adobe, with the church, magazine house, and barracks, of wood, in shape a square, with two bastions, each protecting two curtains sixty-five *varas* long. It was located between the San Pedro and San Antonio Rivers, two hundred *varas* from the latter and thirty from the former. No mention is made in the *Derretoro* of the number of troops or of the commander left at the *presidio* of San Antonio de Béxar, but other authorities say that the number of men left was fifty-three.<sup>3</sup>

8. *Aguayo at Espíritu Santo.*—The idea of occupying Espíritu Santo seems to have been a predominant one in the Spanish plans regarding Texas. One of the most stressed and insistent instructions given Aguayo was for the erection of a *presidio* at Espíritu

<sup>1</sup>Bolton, "The Mission Records at San Antonio," in THE QUARTERLY, X, 301.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Bonilla, *Breve Compendio*, in THE QUARTERLY, VIII, 34; *Testimonia*, Secs. 32-33.

Santo.<sup>1</sup> While on the Rio Grande, January 16, 1720, upon his march to Texas, Aguayo had sent out a detachment of forty men under Domingo Ramón to take possession of La Bahía. When he reached San Antonio, April 4, without having heard from the party, he sent Indians to inquire about it, but received meanwhile the information from the party itself that it had taken possession, April 4. While in San Antonio he made arrangements for a ship to ply between Vera Cruz and Espíritu Santo, and during his sojourn in eastern Texas he received supplies from this source. On his return march, at Mission Guadalupe (Nacogdoches) he received word of the royal *cédula* of May 26, 1721, which approved the erection of a *presidio* at Espíritu Santo, with additional instructions from the viceroy to add fifty men to the quota then at that place.

(a) *Fear of the French as a Motive in the Erection of the Presidio at Espíritu Santo.*—It will be recalled that the immediate cause of Aguayo's sending out the detachment from the Rio Grande, was the rumor of a French and Indian convocation, of which the Spaniards could get no definite information till they reached the mission of La Purísima Concepción, on the Angelina. Here Aguayo was informed by Juan Rodríguez, who learned it from the T́exas Indians, that St. Denis, after his return from the conference with Aguayo on the Neches, had delayed for some days near the mission of Concepción, and that for a time he had gathered there a convocation<sup>2</sup> of Indians with the avowed object of taking possession of San Antonio and Espíritu Santo. The fact that Aguayo found eighty Cadodachos at Mission Concepción lends some appearance of truth to the statement of the Indians.<sup>3</sup> Added to these suspicious signs in eastern Texas, La Harpe's contemporaneous operations on the coast of Texas, having for their object the occupation of Espíritu Santo, at least leave something to be explained, and might be interpreted, not without reason, as a co-operative scheme to secure French hold in Texas. August 26,

<sup>1</sup>Royal *Cédula*, June 18, 1718, Royal *Cédula*, November 19, 1719, Royal *Cédula*, March 16, 1721, etc., in *Reales Cédulas*, tomo 42, Texas Transcripts.

<sup>2</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 17.

<sup>3</sup>Cox says, skeptically, that the "Spanish *diario* of the journey, however, is filled with suspicious references to the supposed desire of the French to penetrate to New Mexico or to the interior of Texas," etc., referring, doubtless, to the statements of the *Derrotero* regarding the convocation.

1718, orders had been sent to the commandant of Louisiana to take possession of Espíritu Santo Bay, the land being claimed in the name of the king on the ground of La Salle's priority of settlement, and the advance of the Spaniards was to be resisted, if need be by force.<sup>1</sup> On August 10, 1721, in pursuance of these orders Bienville instructed La Harpe, with Belle-Isle and twenty soldiers, to take possession of that place.<sup>2</sup> These landed on the Bay of San Bernardo, they claimed, but on account of inhospitable Indians, they abandoned the project.<sup>3</sup> October 16, of that same year, La Harpe wrote, insisting that German and Swiss families be sent to hold that Bay, on account of its importance. He added that the Spanish, hearing of the expedition he had just made, would likely take action.<sup>4</sup>

This maneuvering on the coast, the plausible tales of the Indians, the presence of the Cadodachos at the Assinais, and St. Denis's meeting Aguayo so far in the interior, all suggest the probability of an intention of co-operation between La Harpe and St. Denis.

(b) *The Establishment of Mission and Presidio*.—Shortly before the 16th of March, 1722, Aguayo sent fifty of the best soldiers, selected from the battalion, under Gabriel Costales to Espíritu Santo. Because of the scarcity of horses, he himself could not go until the 16th, when with forty men, accompanied by Doctor Codallos y Rabal, Captains Thomas Zuburía, Miguel Zilón y Portugal, Manuel de Herrera, and Pedro Oribe, he began his march for that place.<sup>5</sup> Their route lay across the Cibola, the Cleto (modern Eceto) and the Guadalupe. After the crossing of the latter, the march lay mostly east with a few veerings to the south-east. In the latter part of the journey it came to two good-sized streams, evidently the Garcitas and Arenosa. Crossing these, the

<sup>1</sup>Margry, VI, 319.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 347.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 354.

<sup>4</sup>La Harpe and Belle-Isle evidently did not reach the interior of Espíritu Santo Bay, for they make no mention of the Spaniards who were there. It has been thought that they probably landed at Galveston Bay.

<sup>5</sup>The *Derrotero*, entries for March 16 and 17, 1722, gives the direction for the first two days of travel as southwest, four leagues to the Salado. This is evidently a mistake, for the Salado lies entirely to the southeast of San Antonio. The *Memorias* copy leaves out entirely the entry for the 17th, and confuses that for the 19th with that of the 20th, failing in this way to account for seven leagues traveled on the 19th.

expedition turned southeast three leagues, and arrived at the "*presidio* of Nuestra Señora de Loreto," March 24, 1722. Apparently it was considered already founded by the garrison.

Illness of the Marquis prevented active measures until the 6th of April, when the lines were begun for the fortification "on the spot where the French had one constructed from 84 to 90." The excavations for the *presidio* enclosed the spot in which the surviving Frenchmen had buried their artillery, and nails, pieces of gun locks, and other remnants of French goods were dug up. The *presidio* was in the shape of an octagon, with a moat, four bastions and a tower. Domingo Ramón<sup>1</sup> with ninety men was left in charge.

After drawing the lines of the *presidio*, Aguayo made the formal grant of the mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga, to the *padre* Augustine Patrón, of the College of Zacatecas. The mission was founded for three tribes of Indians, but from the beginning was ill-fated. "Father Peña, a member of Aguayo's expedition, recorded at the time in his diary that 'it was seen that they [these three tribes] were very docile and would enter readily upon the work of cultivating the earth and their own souls, the more because they live in greater misery than the other tribes, since they subsist altogether upon fish and go entirely without clothing.' By this utterance Peña proved himself either ignorant or defiant of history, a bad sociologist, and a worse prophet."<sup>2</sup>

(c) *The Location of the Presidio*.—Attention has been called to the fact that it is customary, erroneously, to place Fort St. Louis, and consequently the Spanish *presidio*, on the east side of the Lavaca River.<sup>3</sup> In support of the conclusion that the fort lay, not on the east, but on the west side of the river, Joutel's *Carte Nouvelle* and Siguenza's map have been cited, and the state-

<sup>1</sup>"Peña's diary of the Aguayo expedition calls him José Ramón, but authentic documents written at Loreto at the time of Ramón's death call him Domingo Ramón (*Autos Fechos en la Bahía de el espíritu Santo sobre muertes, 1723-1724*)." Bolton, "The Founding of Mission Rosario," in THE QUARTERLY, X, 116. He has consequently been called Domingo Ramón in this paper.

<sup>2</sup>Bolton, "The Founding of Mission Rosario," in THE QUARTERLY, X, 116-117.

<sup>3</sup>Bolton, "Notes on Clark's The Beginnings of Texas," in THE QUARTERLY, XII, 148.

ment made that Joutel's Journal agrees with the map.<sup>1</sup> The matter may be considered definitely settled by Peña's map, which shows the site of the *presidio* on the exact spot of La Salle's fort, on the west side of the River.<sup>2</sup> As to the distance inland, Joutel and De León, the leader of the first Spanish expedition to Espíritu Santo, are substantially agreed that the fort was from one and a half to two leagues inland.

The commonly accepted view is that the fort was on the Lavaca River. This, however, is not unquestioned. Winsor cites a Captain Clark, noted as a student of the cartography of New France, as being of the opinion that the fort was situated on the Garcitas, and not on the Lavaca. This opinion has been arrived at independently by Mr. C. C. Small, a student in the University of Texas. The two strongest indications that the Garcitas was the site, are (1) the French statement that it was on the smallest stream in that vicinity, and (2) the statement of the De León diary that, after leaving the French fort, a party went north six leagues and struck a large river which they called the San Marcos. This river has been identified with the Colorado. But as this can not be true, the distance given being too short, those in favor of the Garcitas claim that the Lavaca would fulfil the conditions, if the fort had been on the Garcitas. Still, there are many points in favor of locating the site on the Lavaca River. Continuity of name can not be unconditionally proposed, for the French always called the river on which their fort was erected the *Revière aux Boeufs*, the Spaniards in general call it the *Rio De los Franceses*, while Peña names it on the map the San Gabriel. Arguments in favor of the location on the Lavaca are the following: (1) By following Aguayo's diary as closely as possible, league by league, from San Antonio, we arrive at the Lavaca about four or five miles from its mouth. (2) The diary states that in the five leagues before reaching a point three leagues northwest of the fort, the route lay across two arroyos of considerable size, evidently the

<sup>1</sup>Bolton, "Notes on Clark's The Beginnings of Texas," in THE QUARTERLY, XII, 148. For the location according to the *Journal*, see Margry, III, 209 and 213.

<sup>2</sup>It so happens that the map showing this *presidio* is the only one in Peña's collection which does not indicate direction. Judging from the position of the natural features, represented on the map, and the fact that the boat anchored in the stream is floating down the stream, we are justified in placing the *presidio* on the west side.

Garcitas and Arenosa. If the fort were on the Garcitas, there would be no two rivers to cross. (3) The questions of distance and direction to the Lavaca are fulfilled by other diaries. (4) When De León was there in 1689, in order to explore the bay he went five leagues southwest, crossing two streams (the Garcitas and Arenosa would meet this requirement) and then turned southeast, and reached the coast after three leagues. (5) The river which this expedition called the San Marcos can easily be identified with the Navidad, if the fort is located on the Lavaca.<sup>1</sup>

9. *Aguayo's Return*.—Finishing his work at Espíritu Santo, Aguayo returned to San Antonio to join the rest of the soldiery. He left for Mexico May 5, 1722, and, without anything of importance happening on the route, reached Monclova on May 25. On the 31st he formally dissolved the expedition.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. THE RESULTS OF THE AGUAYO EXPEDITION

1. *Strengthening of the Military Defenses*.—The Aguayo expedition, the last of its kind into Texas, exceeded all others in size and results. It was perhaps the most ably executed of all the expeditions that entered Texas, and in results it was doubtless the most important. It secured to Spain her hold on Texas for about one hundred and fifteen years. This was done (1) by increasing the military strength of the province, and (2) by carrying out Aguayo's wise suggestion of securing the Spanish hold by the settlement of families in Texas.

When Aguayo retired from Texas he left ten<sup>3</sup> missions where

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Mr. J. D. Mitchell of Victoria for further information and confirmation of the above statements. He enclosed a sketch, showing the site of the fort, now known as Dimmitt's Point, on the west side of the Lavaca River. He says that it now belongs to Messrs. Bennett and West of San Antonio, and that no one has lived near the site for the past fifty years. "In 1833 my mother, with my grandfather, Major James Kerr, first surveyor general for De León's colony, . . . visited the old fort site. The ditches around the fort were then visible. In 1866 I visited the site, . . . I could find no signs of the ditches. . . . The site is about four miles, air line, below the junction of the Lavaca and the Navidad rivers."

<sup>2</sup>Peña, *Derrotero*, 28.

<sup>3</sup>When Aguayo entered Texas there were but two missions and one *presidio*.—Mission San Francisco de Valero. Mission San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo, named after its patron, Aguayo, who from Coahuila had commissioned its founding, and *Presidio* San Antonio de Béxar, all at San

before the retreat there had been seven, four *presidios* where there had been two, two hundred and sixty-eight soldiers instead of some sixty or seventy as before, and two *presidios* were for the first time erected at the points where danger from foreign aggression was most feared,—los Adaes and Espíritu Santo.

2. *The Settlement of Families in Texas.*—Aguayo saw that if the Spanish hold were to be made permanent, settlers must be sent to Texas. He and the corporal at Espíritu Santo made recommendations to the authorities to the effect that the greater security of the province, the reduction of the number of *presidios* and soldiers, and consequently the reduction of the expense to the royal treasury, would all follow if families were sent to settle in Texas. They recommended that two hundred such be sent from Galicia, the Canaries, or Havana, and two hundred more from Tlaxcala. They were to be distributed among all the missions in Texas, and a new mission was to be founded with Spanish and Tlaxcalan settlers between San Antonio and eastern Texas. These recommendations were submitted to the king, and May 10, 1723, he ruled that, since it was easier to transport families from the Canaries than from Galicia, two hundred families from the former place should be embarked for Campeche, thence to Vera Cruz, and finally to La Bahía. The authorities of Yucatán and Mexico were strictly instructed to see to the welfare of these families and to support them for a year after their settlement in Texas, until they could begin to provide for themselves. Nothing immediate came of this resolution. But February 14, 1729, the king ordered that four hundred families, including the two hundred already specified, should be sent from the Canaries to Havana and thence to

Antonio. He refounded in eastern Texas six: San Francisco, Concepción, Guadalupe, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, San Miguel de los Adaes, and San Joseph de los Nazonis. He founded a seventh, Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga, at La Bahía, and an eighth, San Francisco Xavier de Nájera at San Antonio,—which taken with San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo, founded by his permission, made nine that he had founded in all. Miss West, "Bonilla's Brief Compendium," in THE QUARTERLY, VIII, 35, says, "Besides these [missions] whose founding is distinctly described, there are two other names mentioned further on in the narrative, whose reference is not made quite clear. These are the missions of Nuestra Señora del Pilar and Nuestra Señora de la Assumpción." Both these difficulties are cleared by the printed copy of the *Derrotero*. The first place is clearly referred to as the Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar. The last named was meant for La Concepción de Nuestra Señora. See *Derrotero*, 23.

Texas. They were to be embarked from the Canaries ten or twelve at a time, and were to be given the same support ordered for the first two hundred. The result of this *cédula*, and hence of Aguayo's suggestion, was the well known settlement of Canary Islands at San Antonio in 1731.

3. *Disappointment of the Missionaries.*—From the point of view of the missionaries, Aguayo's work was not as complete as they could have wished. Espinosa expresses their feeling as follows: "Considering the great stir with which the latest entry was made into Texas, the saying of the prophet Isaiah was verified, that 'the people increased but the joy did not,' for these poor missionaries who had [but lately] seen so many soldiers on the fields of Texas did not have the increased pleasure of having one or more at their missions." They were needed at the missions to help settle the Indians in *pueblos*. The *padres* also complained that they were not supplied with provisions and tools as had been intended by the viceroy, and that the soldiers, before they left, did not gather the Indians into *pueblos*.

The fact remains, however, that the work done by Aguayo was permanent, and that it fastened Spain's hold on Texas for more than a century. The establishments at the most important points were lasting. That at La Bahía, with two short changes in location, has remained to the present; that of los Adaes was the official capital of Texas till 1772, when San Antonio superseded it; and San Antonio, the other stronghold, in the center of Texas, remained the capital till 1836, when the Spanish dominion was brought to a close by the Texas Revolution.

## V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. *Secondary Works*

The general works in English consulted for this paper are (1) the older histories of Texas: Thrall, *A Pietorial History of Texas*, I; Kennedy, *Texas*, I; Brown, *History of Texas*, I; Yoakum, *A History of Texas*, in *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I (Wooten, Ed.), and (2) the standard works, Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, and Garrison, *Texas*. Of the first group it can be said, that the chief advantage to be gained

from them is an added appreciation of the truth furnished by authentic sources, for upon this period they are replete with error.

The principal monographs in English consulted are: Bolton: (1) *The Native Tribes About the East Texas Missions*; (2) *Mission Records at San Antonio*; (3) *The Founding of Mission Rosario*; (4) *Notes on Clark's "The Beginnings of Texas"*; (5) *Articles in Handbook of American Indians*. Clark: *The Beginnings of Texas*. Cox: *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier*.

The secondary Spanish authorities, such as Altamira, *Puntos*, 1746, Bonilla, *Breve Compendio* (1772), and Talamantes, *Historia del Descubrimiento* (1805), are all brief sketches. Bonilla and Talamantes are not altogether reliable.

The older Spanish authorities used are: Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica* (1746), which might well be classed among the primary sources on account of the author's having been present at most of the events of this expedition; Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica* (1792); Villa-Señor, *Theatro* (1748); and Cavo, *Tres Siglos* (1835).

The secondary French authorities are: Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, which, like Espinosa, might be considered a primary source, on account of the author's being in Louisiana at the time of the events; and Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes* (1905).

## 2. Primary Sources

The greater part of the primary sources used for this paper are found in the University of Texas Transcripts and in Dr. H. E. Bolton's manuscripts, a collection of documents and transcripts made in the various archives and depositories of Mexico. The latter are referred to as B. MS.

The most important document for the Aguayo expedition is the *Peña Derrotero*, written by Father Juan Antonio Peña, chaplain of the expedition. The copy of the *Derrotero* used for this paper was printed in Mexico, 1722, and, so far as I know, has never before been used. It is now in Dr. Bolton's collection. The title as given in the official print is "*Derrotero de la Expedicion en la Provincia de los Texas, Nuevo Reyno de Philipinos, que del orden del Exmo. Señor Marques de Valero Vi-Rey de esta Nueva España*

ha hecho D. Joseph Azlor, Caballero Mesnadero del Reino de Aragon, Governador y Capitan General de dicha Provincia de Texas, Nuevas Philipinos, y de esta de Coahuila, Nuevo Reino de Estramadura, etc. The copy used by Bancroft and all other writers that I know of has been the *Memorias* copy. By comparison with the printed copy, this is found to have numerous mistakes; sentences or phrases that change the entire meaning of a statement are inserted or omitted by the copyist, while in one place a whole day's entry is left out. Proper nouns are commonly misspelled in it.

An important manuscript is the *Razon de la Fundacion de las Misiones al Sor. Virrey por aquellos misioneros*. The title is misleading, for it is not an account of the founding of the missions, but a detailed account of the retreat and abandonment of eastern Texas in 1719. Other manuscripts which can not well be classified are as follows: *Oposicion a la fundacion de la Mission de San Joseph del rio de San Antonio año de 1720*, Santa Cruz de Querétaro; *Relacion de la Sorpresa hecha por los Franceses de la Movila en el Castillo de San Carlos y Punto de Siguenza*; *Autos Fechos en la Bahia de el espiritu santo sobre dos muertes que executaron los Indios, 1724*, Provincias Internas, Vol. 181; *Autos sobre diferentes noticias que se han participado a Su Exa de las entradas que en estas Dominios hacen los Franceses por la parte de Coahuila y providencias dadas para evitarselas y fundacion de la Micion en la Provincia de los Texas*, Provincias Internas, 181; *Diferentes Autos y otras providencias dictadas por el Govor. Marques de S. Migl. de Aguayo*, Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobernación, Saltillo, año de 1720, in B. MS. The following are found in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII: *Carta por el Marques de Sn. Miguel de Aguayo, 1715*; *Dictamen Fiseal*; *Representacion por el Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, 1715*; *Dictamen Fiscal, 1716*; *Ynforme del M. R. y Ve. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus, 1716*; *Carta del M. R. y Ve. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus, 1716*; *Carta del Capitan Domingo Ramon á S. Exa., 1716*; *Representacion á S. Exa. por los PP. Misioneros, 1716*; *Carta del P. Fr. Antonio Olivares á S. Exa.*; *Otra del P. Fr. Antonio Olivares*; *Representacion del M. R. y Ve. P. Fr. Antonio Margil a S. Exa., 1718*; *Carta del M. R. Fr. Ysidro Felix de Espinosa a S. Exa., 1718*; *Otra del Padre Espinosa a S. Exa., 1718*; *Carta del Pe. Hidalgo a Su Exa., 1718*; *Diree-*

toria pa. su viage a la Prova. de texas, 1718; *Relacion de los empleos meritos, y servicios del Sargento mayor D. Martin de Alarcon, 1721.*

For the comparative notes on the routes of the different expeditions, the following have been used: *Derrotero de la Jornada del General Alonso de Leon, 1689*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII; De León, *Derrotero*, 1690, *Provincias Internas*, 182, in B. MS.; *Demarcacion por el General D. Domingo Terán, 1692*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII; *Diario de los RR. PP. Misioneros, 1691*, *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII; *Derrotero para los Misiones de los Presidios internos, 1716*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII; Espinosa; *Diario derrotero de la nueva entrada, 1716*, in *Autos hechos*, in B. MS.; *Diario de Espinosa y Olivares, 1709*, Santa Cruz de Querétaro, in B. MS.; Rivera, *Diario*, in B. MS.; La Fora, *Diario*, in B. MS.; *Diario del P. Gaspr de Solis, 1767*, in *Colección de Memorias*, XXVII.

The French sources are found in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, IV, V, and VI. The principal ones used for this paper are: La Harpe, *Journal*; Joutel, *Journal*; Pénicaut, *Rclation*; and miscellaneous correspondence bearing immediately on the subject.

## THE JUMANO INDIANS IN TEXAS, 1650-1771

HERBERT E. BOLTON

## I. THE JUMANO MYSTERY

Among the many subjects on which the archives of Mexico are now shedding new and much needed light, one is that of the history of the Jumano Indians after the middle of the seventeenth century. In the early annals of New Mexico and southwestern Texas the tribe was well known, and though they were less prominent after 1629, a few references to them between that date and the end of the seventeenth century have been long available. But of their movements thenceforth students have until recently found little trace. Bandelier, writing in 1890, was constrained to say: "The Jumanos were lost sight of after the great convulsions of 1680 and succeeding years, and their ultimate fate is as unknown as their original numbers."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Hodge, in a recent study, states that until shortly before his writing he had been "baffled by what appeared to be the sudden and almost complete disappearance of this once populous tribe."<sup>2</sup> The present writer, through his investigations in the archives of Mexico, had the good fortune to pick up the thread again in 1907 and to show that from 1750 forward the Taovayas, a Wichita tribe of the Red River (Texas), were regularly called "Jumanes" by the Spaniards of New Mexico.<sup>3</sup> Hodge has taken this newly acquired information to be the key to the solution of the mystery, and, in the recent study referred to, has concluded that the Jumano formerly known in the Southwest were identical with the Taovayas, and, under the latter name, were

<sup>1</sup>*Final Report*, in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series*, III, 1890, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup>"The Jumano Indians," in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting, April, 1909*. My references are to the reprint of that article.

<sup>3</sup>See an article on the "Tawchash" by the present writer in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part II, p. 705. The information concerning the Jumano in 1750 therein contained was compiled in 1907. See Hodge, "The Jumano Indians," 19, notes.

absorbed by the Wichita, in which tribe they are now represented.<sup>1</sup> He has concluded, also apparently, that for the name "Taovayas," wherever found, "Jumano" can be substituted.<sup>2</sup>

By restating the hitherto available data concerning the Jumano and correlating it with the recent discoveries concerning the Taovayas, Hodge has done valuable service to the history and ethnology of the Southwest. That his conclusion explains the apparent disappearance of a part of the people known as Jumano, the present writer is convinced. But there has come to light in the Mexican archives a considerable fund of information which Hodge did not use; and a study of it shows that he has taken too little account of a part of the Jumano and, it may be, drawn a conclusion that is too far-reaching. The purpose of this paper is to present some of the new data, and thereby help to fill in and correct the hitherto scanty history of the Jumano tribe between 1683 and 1750.

Hodge regards the principal notices of the Jumano nation between 1629 and 1683 as referring to a people living near the Arkansas River. He recognizes toward the close of the eighteenth century a southern (with reference to New Mexico and Texas) as well as a northern people called Jumano, but seems to be able to trace them only to 1691, his discussion thereafter being devoted to the northern group. Even of this group he appears to be able to find only one faint trace between 1697 and 1719, that being in the year 1700. In 1719 he finds another trace, at which point he remarks: "No definite reference to the northern Jumano between 1719 and 1750 is found." Finally, the Jumano of whom he finds mention are consistently hostile to the Apache, or at least allies of the enemies of the Apache.

To one who has worked extensively in the sources of later seventeenth and early eighteenth century Texas history recently made available, and has not, like Hodge, made the Jumano a subject of long and special study, the article in question contains cause for surprise on four counts: the first is that the "Nueces River," where the Jumano were several times met between 1629 and 1683, should be identified with the Arkansas or any stream in its vicinity; the

<sup>1</sup>"The Jumano Indians," pp. 19-22.

<sup>2</sup>See *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part II, "Synonymy," p. 1067.

second, that references to the Jumano in the eighteenth century should be considered so scarce; the third, that the Jumano should be regarded in the first half of the eighteenth century as primarily a northern (with reference to Texas and New Mexico) rather than a southern tribe;<sup>1</sup> the fourth, that no mention should be made of Jumano who were not enemies but allies of the Apache, and even regarded as Apache themselves.

As one who has experienced this surprise, the writer has attempted to present, in the pages that follow, evidence to show that the "Nueces River," where the Jumano were found in the third and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, was probably the Colorado River of Texas, rather than the Arkansas; that the Jumano were frequently encountered in southern Texas between 1675 and 1771, at least; and that in the second half of this period they were regularly regarded as allies of the Apache, or even as Apache, and, therefore, as hostile to the Wichita, a part of whom, the Taovayas, we well know, were regularly called Jumano after 1750. Everything here stated is with due deference to Mr. Hodge's great learning in matters of Southwestern ethnology.

## II. THE IDENTITY OF THE "RIO DE LAS NOEZES," HOME OF THE JUMANO

The history of the Jumano before 1650 it is not my purpose to discuss, but for the sake of clearness it may be briefly summarized. The tribe was first seen by Cabeza de Vaca in 1535 on the Rio Grande, near its junction with the Conchos River, a place known as La Junta (the junction); in 1582 they were found in the same place by Espejo; in 1598 they were receiving religious instruction in eastern New Mexico; for several years before 1629 they visited Fray Juan de Salas at Isleta, asking him to go to live among them; in response to this request Father Salas in the year named visited the tribe more than one hundred and twelve leagues to the eastward of Santa Fé, "or, possibly," says Mr. Hodge, "in the western part of Kansas in the vicinity of what later became known as El Cuartelejo"; in 1632 they were again visited by Father Salas in

<sup>1</sup>Mr. William E. Dunn, for example, in a recent paper based on a wide use of eighteenth century Texas sources, says of the name Jumano, "Most commonly it applied to Indians living in southwestern Texas near the Rio Grande." *THE QUARTERLY*, XIV, 268.

the buffalo plains on a stream which the Spaniards called the "Nueces"; in 1650 and yet again in 1654, they were encountered on the "Nueces" River by Castillo and Guadalajara, respectively.<sup>1</sup> In a former article Hodge states that the "Nueces River" visited in 1632 and 1650 "must have been the Arkansas";<sup>2</sup> and in the recent one already cited he holds the same opinion.<sup>3</sup>

As viewed by the present writer this conclusion as to the location of the "Nueces River" does not seem warranted by the sources. The "Ynforme" of Father Posadas,<sup>4</sup> which is the chief authority for the expeditions to the Nueces River between 1629 and 1655, states clearly and in terms that the place visited by Martin and Castillo in 1650 was far to the south of Santa Fé. He relates that after reaching "this said place of the Rio de las Nueces and this nation of los Jumanos," they went down stream east-southeast, and, after having traveled some fifty leagues, arrived at the borders of the T exas country. He then continues: "Among these nations that of the Tejas must be (*estará*) in twenty-eight degrees; from its limits said Captains Hernan Martin and Diego del Cas-

<sup>1</sup>Hodge, *op. cit.*, Reprint, pp. 3-9.

<sup>2</sup>*Land of Sunshine*, XIV, 52; Posadas, "Ynforme," cited below.

<sup>3</sup>At this point he writes thus: "As previously stated, Fray Juan de Salas, earlier in the century, found the Jumano on the prairies about 112 leagues eastward from the Rio Grande. But distances given by the early Spanish travelers must be regarded as only approximate, and there is no reason for believing that the tribe had moved farther away simply because Captains Martin and Castillo, in 1650, are said to have found the Jumano on the Nueces, 200 leagues from Santa Fé. They may have been in practically the same spot during this quarter century. There is ground for strong suspicion that the village or villages of the Jumano on the plains at this time were in proximity to if not actually at the Cuartelejo, or Cuartelejo, mentioned frequently by writers of the eighteenth century. The distance of the Jumano from Santa Fé, according to two writers above cited, varied from 112 to 200 leagues (300 to 530 miles); while El Cuartelejo, according to the record, was from 130 to 160 leagues (350 to 450 miles) from the New Mexican capital. This Indian outpost was situated in the valley of Beaver Creek, in northern Scott county, Kansas." (*op. cit.*, Reprint, 3.)

<sup>4</sup>"Ynforme hecho a su Magd. sobre las Tierras del Nuevo Mexico," MS. in *Memorias para la historia de Nueva Espana*, Tom. 3. ff. 1-18. Also in Fernandez Duran, *Don Diego de Pe alosa*, Madrid, 1882. For a note on Posadas, see Hodge, *op. cit.*, Reprint, p. 11. The report was written as late as 1686, in consequence of a royal *c dula* of December 10, 1678, directed to the viceroy of New Spain, and of another of August 2, 1685, to a succeeding viceroy. Posadas states this in the opening paragraphs. The references which I give are to my own MS copy.

tillo returned by the same route (*rumbo*)<sup>1</sup> to the Villa of Santa Fee, *going up toward the North as far as is implied by saying from twenty-eight to thirty-seven degrees and a distance of two hundred-fifty leagues.*"<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing it is plain that Posadas considered the Nueces River to be a stream whose middle course was several degrees of latitude south of Santa Fé. That this was his understanding is evident also from other statements which he made in the same report. He tells us that flowing eastward from Santa Fé, or, as he puts it in one place, east-one-fourth-south-east, and joined by a tributary from the north, there is a large stream called the Rio Grande; and that rising northeastward from Pecos and flowing southeast is the Nueces. "From the Noezes to this [Rio Grande] in the direction of the north will be about one hundred leagues." From the Nueces to La Junta he considered the distance eighty leagues,<sup>3</sup> or only three-fourths of his estimate of the distance from El Paso to La Junta, and only two-fifths of that from La Junta to Santa Fé. Again, in summing up he says, "looking to the Southeast [from Santa Fé] one-fourth south we shall find, two hundred leagues away, the junction of the Rio del Norte and the Conchas . . . and looking directly (*en linea recta*) to the southeast we shall find at a distance of two hundred leagues, the Rio de las Noezes in the Aijados nation." In other words, as he understood it, this point on the Nueces River, which was adjacent to the Jumano country, was just the same distance southeast from Santa Fé as La Junta was southeast-south.<sup>4</sup>

It is thus seen that a close scrutiny of the principal source of information regarding the "Nueces River," seems to preclude its identity with the Arkansas. It can now be shown on the strength of positive evidence, partly drawn from the same document and partly from other sources, that there are very strong reasons for

<sup>1</sup>He had previously stated that they had reached the Nueces by a route (*rumbo*) different from that followed by Salas and Ortega in 1632. *Ibid.*, fol. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Posadas, *op. cit.*, ff. 5-6. The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 5.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 2, 4-5; 9-10; 17.

identifying it with a stream much further south,<sup>1</sup> namely, one of the upper branches of the Colorado of Texas.

Being especially interested in the pearls carried back by the party of Martin and Castillo, the viceroy ordered another exploration of the Nueces River, and in 1654, Posadas tells us, Diego de Guadalajara and thirty soldiers set out "in the direction stated" [that is, southeast] to execute the command. "Having traveled about two hundred leagues, they arrived at the Rio de las Noezes, and found on it many Indians of the Jumano nation."<sup>2</sup>

It so happens that Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, a member of the Guadalajara party, became the leader of another expedition to the Jumano on the Nueces in 1684. This connecting link between the two expeditions is important, for during the latter journey Mendoza *recognized the stream which he was then on as the one Guadalajara had visited*, and he kept a diary which beyond question establishes the identity of the stream with one of the upper branches of the Colorado, in west-central Texas.<sup>3</sup>

The Mendoza expedition was the result of a petition made by Juan Sabeata, an Jumano Indian, at Paso del Norte in October, 1683, for missionaries and Spanish settlers in his own country.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>It would be interesting, in this connection, to reproduce here the map which Dr. Ethel Z. Rather, a careful scholar, made to illustrate the geographical facts stated in the Posadas "Ynforme," to accompany her translation of it, executed for the present writer. She had no thought, perhaps no knowledge, of a possible controversy over the location of the Jumano as understood by Posadas. Her conclusion agrees exactly with mine, as stated above.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, f. 7. It is clear that Posadas regarded the Nueces River of this expedition as identical with that visited by Martin and Castillo four years earlier.

<sup>3</sup>The authority for the direct assertion that Mendoza was with Guadalajara is Posadas, "Ynforme," *op. cit.*, 12. He says: "The commander-in-chief, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, was in this expedition and war." Mendoza's recognition of the stream on which Guadalajara had been supports the assertion. Guadalajara was at the City of Mexico at the time when Posadas was there writing his memorial, and Posadas must have made the assertion on good authority. It is said, also, that Mendoza had been there recently.

<sup>4</sup>This summary of the Mendoza expedition is based upon the MS. diary, the correspondence, declarations, and representations connected with the event. These documents are contained in two collections. One is entitled "Autos sobre los Socorros q pide el Govr. de la Na. Mexico, y otras notas. tocantes a la Sublevacion de los Yndios Barbaros de aquella Prova.," etc. These are original manuscripts. The other collection is entitled "Viage Que A solicitud de los Naturales de la Prova. de Texas, y otras naciones



study will be reserved for a later task, and only enough details will be given here to show that the Nueces River which Mendoza reached was clearly one of the upper branches of the Colorado.<sup>1</sup>

On January 1, 1684, the party, leaving Father Acevedo to minister to the Indians at La Junta (or La Novedad de las Cruces, as it was now called), set out for the country of the Nueces River. From La Junta the route was evidently north, or a little east of north, to the Salado (Pecos), which was reached on the thirteenth, after going seventy leagues.<sup>2</sup> The point was perhaps in Pecos County, opposite Crane County, Texas, though it may have been a short distance farther west, in Reeves County.<sup>3</sup> Following the river for nine leagues, they crossed to the village of the Jeditondas, "at the foot of a great rock which serves them as a protection against the hostile Apaches."<sup>4</sup> Here Mendoza stopped seven days. Leaving the Pecos, he now marched eastward across an unwatered plain. Forty leagues out he struck the head of an east-flowing stream, remarkable for its shells (*concheria*). Mendoza called the river the Nueces, regarding it as the one he had come to find. It was perhaps the middle Concho. Following this stream east twenty-one (or twenty-four?) leagues, and passing by one or two tributaries, he came to the "Rio de Señor San Pedro, which is the principal [river], called de las Perlas, or, by another name, de las Nueces [nuts], although they all have them, which river is the one appearing in the order which I bear . . . and which order is now fulfilled. *Said point is about eight leagues further down the said River than the place where Don Diego de Guadalajara arrived.*"<sup>5</sup> The point where this entry was written was perhaps near San Angelo, at the junction of the North and Middle Concho rivers.

Nineteen leagues further on he reached the end of his journey

<sup>1</sup>Miss Anne Hughes, one of my students in the University of Texas, has made a careful study of the diary, and hopes some time to complete it for publication.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, entries from January 1 to 14.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, entries from January 1 to 14. At the point where the Salado was reached, "a great Saline" was discovered a league across the river.

<sup>4</sup>"Derrotero," entry for January 18. No mention is made in the diary of the presence of Jumanos in the village. Cf. Escalante, *op. cit.*, p. 311, and Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 386.

<sup>5</sup>"Derrotero," entry for February 24. The italics are mine.

at an eastward flowing stream, which he called the San Clemente. He was now about forty leagues (eighty miles according to his former estimates) from the head of the "Nueees" River, and twice that distance from the point where he had left the Pecos, or eight-sevenths of the distance from La Junta to the Pecos by the northward route. The place was apparently on the Colorado near its junction with the Concho. Mendoza tells us that on his return home he went straight west, much of the way near an east-flowing stream, to the Pecos, which, after going some distance along the north bank, he crossed at the point where he had passed it before.

The testimony of this diary, supplemented by Posadas's report, seems to identify the Nueces River, home of the Jumano in 1684, with the Concho,<sup>1</sup> whose very name is significant. Equally so is the fact that a considerable pearl-fishing industry is still carried on in the Concho River, in the neighborhood of San Angelo, which is not true of other streams of central Texas. It may be added that the Concho is today one of the greatest nut-producing streams in the Southwest.

### III. DATA REGARDING THE JUMANO IN SOUTHWEST TEXAS BETWEEN 1683 AND 1716

Regardless of its bearing on the existence of a Jumano tribe on the Arkansas in the middle of the eighteenth century (and that bearing is not difficult to see), the above conclusion as to the identity of the "Nueces River" implies, of course, the presence of Jumano in southwestern Texas at that period. With this as a starting point, it is my purpose now to present evidence, much of which has never been taken into account, to show that Jumano continued to range through the same general region till after the middle of the eighteenth century, at least. Some of the evidence even points to a residence there after the time when Hodge implies that the whole tribe were living on the Red River under the name

<sup>1</sup>To this conclusion there is only one alternative. If, on his outward journey, Mendoza struck the Pecos, in Reeves county, and followed it nine leagues up stream instead of nine leagues down stream, the Nueces would be Giraud Creek, and the San Clemente the Colorado below Giraud Creek. One thing in favor of this conclusion is the fact that Mendoza returned to the Pecos by a more southern route than that which he followed outward. ("Derrotero," entries for March 16 and May 21.)

of Taovayas, and in other ways disturbs views that have been regarded as established.

It may be noted, as a preliminary to the discussion which follows, that the forms Juman, Chuman, Jumané, Jumana, Xoman, Xumana, etc., frequently occur in the Spanish documents as variants of the name Jumano. Indeed, in the Spanish sources Jumané and Jumana occur much more frequently than Jumano, the form which has been adopted by the Bureau of American Ethnology and which I have followed for that reason. Juman, Xuman, Chuman, etc., are sometimes used for the tribe while the people are referred to as Jumanes, Xumanes, Chomanes, etc. In the seventeenth century the name was probably pronounced Zhuman.

To show that during the decade between 1683 and 1693 the Jumano lived in the general region of the Rio Grande, from La Junta eastward, the evidence is ample. To go back a step, in 1675 Fernando del Bosque and Fathers Larios and San Buenaventura found the Indians of the Xoman tribe at a place called Dacate Mountain, a short distance north of the Rio Grande and east of the Pecos.<sup>1</sup> While there is no certainty that these Xoman were the Choman, or Jumano, known on other grounds to have been near the Rio Grande at this time, yet there is a strong probability that such was the case. We have already seen that the Jumano chief, Juan Sabeata, claimed in 1683 to live near La Junta "with many" of his tribe, and that part of the tribe were found in 1684 on the "Nueces" (Colorado) River. It is clear, moreover, that Father Posadas regarded the Jumano to be living near the Rio Grande when he wrote his "Ynforme" (about 1686). He states that at La Junta Mendoza and López "saw many Indians—Jumanas, Rayados, Oposmes, Polupames, Polaques, and others."<sup>2</sup> After describing the Apache range over the great plains of western Texas, he states that the home of the Jumano is south of the

<sup>1</sup>*Autos* of the expedition of Antonio Balcarcel Rivadeneyra y Sotomayor. MS.

<sup>2</sup>"Ynforme," *op. cit.*, 4. Vetancurt states that Father López and his companions found at La Junta "a great multitude of Xumanas and Tejas; they decided to return with better preparations and sufficient ministers. . . . Some friars returned with the intention of going among the Xumanas and Texas." (*Crónica*, pp. 96-97). As a matter of fact, neither López nor Mendoza reported a great multitude of Xumanas at this point, nor did the ministers return to El Paso before going to the Nueces River. Two Texas messengers were reported at La Junta by Sabeata.

Apache, on the Nueces River, but that they are now living near the Rio Grande, having been forced back by the Apache.<sup>1</sup>

The same general impression as to the home of the Jumano at this time is given by other and entirely distinct groups of sources. The French of La Salle's party learned in eastern Texas of the Jumano as a tribe living to the southwest of their route. When among the Teño, of the lower Colorado country, in 1687, La Salle was informed that some members of this tribe had gone to the southwest or west and entered into relations with the Chouman tribe, friends of the Spaniards and the Cenís (Hasinai).<sup>2</sup> That the Chouman were unquestionably the Jumano, we shall presently see. Father Douay reported the Chouman tribe to be living only two days from the Spanish settlements.<sup>3</sup> And while among the Cadodaeho Delisle learned of the Chouman as a tribe in the southwest and friends of his hosts.<sup>4</sup> In 1688 we again hear, through Spanish sources, of Jumano near the Rio Grande, on the border of Coahuila. During the uprising in that year of the Colorados, Cabezas, Tobozos, and others, the leader of the outbreak, "Don Dieguillo," sent a messenger to the Teocodames (Terocodames), "Jumanas," and others, to get them to join the revolt.<sup>5</sup> It is well known that the Terocodame tribe lived at this time near the Rio Grande about Eagle Pass, and it is quite probable that the Jumanas now mentioned with the Terocodame were the same as the Xoman seen with them north of the river in 1675. In the same year, 1688, Capt. Diego Ramón sent a messenger across the Rio Grande to call the "Jumanes" and other nations to the mission of Nada-

<sup>1</sup>"From east to west on the southern border this Apache nation is contiguous with the following nations: after the Tejas, with the nation of the Aijados [and then] with the nation of the Cuitoas and of the Escanjaquez, in a district of fifty leagues; and these nations being those stated on the river of the Noezes, the Apache nation [now] keeps them driven back to the Rio del Norte, a district of a hundred leagues, or a little less; and after these nations, [i. e., westward] follows that of the Jumanas, with the rest that are mentioned at the junction of the Rio del Norte and the Conchos; and [the Apache] keep these also driven back in this said place, and dispossessed of the Noezes river." "Ynforme," 11-13.

<sup>2</sup>Joutel, "Relation," in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, etc., III, 299.

<sup>3</sup>French, *Hist. Coll. La.* (1852), 203-205.

<sup>4</sup>Margry, *op. cit.*, III, 410.

<sup>5</sup>"Declaración" of General Alonso de León, May 17, 1788. Portillo, *Apuntes para la Historia Antigua Coahuila y Tejas*, 222.



Sabeata, who spoke Spanish, and with the chief of the Catqueza, who had been raised in Parral and had lived in New Mexico, later returning to his people.<sup>1</sup> He says: "The said nations of Indians, Choma, Cibola, and Caynaagua are Indians who live on and whose country is the bank of the Rio Del Norte. They [or the last named, *estos*] are contiguous to the Salineros, who live on the banks of the Salado [Pecos] which joins the rio del Norte. They are contiguous also to the Apaches and have wars with them. The Apaches are a *cordillera* which runs from east to west and are at war with all. Only with the Salineros do they have peace. . . . These of the nation Choma are the Indians which in El Parral and Nuevo Mexico they call Jumancs. Every year they come to reconnoiter the Rio de Guadalupe, and some go as far as los Texas. They come to kill buffalo, and carry back [*llevan*] the skins, because in their country there are no buffalo. As soon as the cold weather comes they go to their country. Don Juan Labiata [Sabeata],<sup>2</sup> Captain of said Chomanes, displayed a commission as Governor of his nation and those who might be in his following. Another Indian of the same nation displayed another commission as Lieutenant of the said Don Juan Labiata. Both commissions were given them by the Governor of Nueva Viscaya, Dn. Juan Ysidro Pardiñas."<sup>3</sup> Sabeata told Massanet that many of the people he had with him had been baptized at Parral, and asked the missionary to return with him to his country, but Massanet put him off with excuses, remarking in his diary that since these Indians entered Parral and El Paso every year, they could have ministers if they chose.<sup>4</sup>

Writing in the same year (1691), Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus María, missionary on the Neches, mentions the Chuman tribe as allies of the T́exas and enemies of the Apache, and living to the southwest.<sup>5</sup> In the summer of 1693 Gregorio Salinas car-

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>2</sup>In the original the spelling is "Sabeata."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 191. Terán says "y los mandones competentes formales de los Gobernadores actuales de la Viscaya y Nuevo Mexico." *op. cit.*, 28-29.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 101. In spite of their friendly conference, the Jumano are reported to have followed the Spanish expedition to the San Marcos (Colorado), stealing horses and causing other trouble. (*Autos* of the expedition, 109, 110, 112, 126, 127, 129, etc.)

<sup>5</sup>Casañas, "Relación." MS.

ried succor from Monclova to the missionaries on the Neches. Among the tribes which he reported seeing on the way were the Jumanes.<sup>1</sup>

We have thus been able to follow almost continuously for the decade between 1683 and 1693 a Jumano tribe living near the Rio Grande, both above and below the Pecos, or hunting buffalo in south central Texas. Their winter home was characteristically near the Pecos and Rio Grande, while in summer they journeyed to the buffalo plains of the Guadalupe and the Colorado. They were enemies of the Apaches, who had crowded them southward from the upper Colorado.

In October, 1693, Texas was abandoned by the Spaniards, and until 1716 they had relatively slight contact with the province. But even during that period we get glimpses of the Jumano in the south. At the time of the withdrawal, Joseph de Urrutia was left wounded among the Cantona, Indians of the lower Colorado. In later years, when captain at San Antonio, he declared that in the course of the seven years during which he remained among the Indians he became their "capitán grande," leading the allies against the Apache, "sometimes with 10,000 or 12,000 Indians, and others with more, of the nations where I was [and?], of the Pelones and Jumanes."<sup>2</sup> This traces the tribe till 1700. In 1706 we hear of an Juman Indian at Monclova, south of the Rio Grande, giving testimony<sup>3</sup> based on information gained from an Indian of the Timamar tribe, that is a tribe living near the Rio Grande, implying that the Juman had probably been in that region.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Dictamen Fiscal," in "*Mem. de Nueva Espana*," XXVII, 185. He went east in May and June, and returned in June and July. It will be noted that the season was the same as that of the Massanet expedition of 1691.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of July 4, 1733. MS. in the Archivo General, Mexico.

<sup>3</sup>The testimony was given incident to an investigation of certain rumors of French in Texas. "*Diferentes Noticias de Indios de como ay Españoles azia los Texas*." MS. in Archivo General y Publico, Mexico.

<sup>4</sup>It is noteworthy that when Fathers Espinosa and Olivares made their expedition to the San Marcos in 1709 they did not mention seeing the Jumano, though they did see Chief Cantona. (Espinosa, "Diario," MS. 1709.)

## IV. BETWEEN 1716 AND 1750: THE JUMANO IN ALLIANCE WITH THE APACHE

When the Spaniards again occupied Texas, in 1716, they found that a noteworthy change had taken place, namely, that the Jumano had become allies of the Apache and enemies of the Spaniards and of the T  exas, in which capacity they were thereafter frequently mentioned. Thus, while in eastern Texas in 1716, Domingo Ram  n wrote of "finding ourselves surrounded on the north by the enemies of los T  exas, namely, the Apaches, Jumanes, Chanas," and others.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that the Jumanes whom he mentions were living far to the north, though they may have been. The Apaches were at this time occupying most of western Texas, and the Chanes River was the present Llano. In 1718 an Indian named Juanillo "of the Jumana nation" was reported at San Juan Bautista to have been instrumental in causing a defection among the Indians of the missions on the Rio Grande which involved a threat to destroy the Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> Again, an item of evidence recorded in 1724 shows not only the friendliness between the Apache and the Jumano, but also that in 1721 the latter lived, as formerly, in the region of the Conchos and Rio del Norte.<sup>3</sup> In 1721 the Marqu  s de Aguayo, when crossing Texas, named a small stream east of the Brazos the "Arroyo de los Jumanes," but the circumstance prompting him to do so does not appear.

Documents written during the serious Apache troubles at San Antonio between 1731 and 1733 make it still plainer that Jumano were frequently in Texas and were there regularly re-

<sup>1</sup>Ram  n, "Representaci  n," in *Mem. de Nueva Espa  a*, XXVII, 160.

<sup>2</sup>Declaration of Indian Joseph, who came from eastern Texas with a French courier. MS. in the Archivo General y P  blico, Mexico. It seems that the revolting, or rather the absconding, Indians were those of Rancheria Grande, in central Texas.

<sup>3</sup>In 1724 an Indian named Ger  nimo, a native of Santa Elena, Nueva Viscaya, who came to San Juan Bautista with some Apache, declared that about three years before he had been captured on the Conchos River by the Tobosos, and had lived for a year "among the Tobosos and Jumanes," when he was purchased by some Apache, among whom he had lived two years. He also declared that when, a short time before his deposition was made, the Apaches were planning to destroy San Antonio, a peace message from San Antonio, Texas, reached the Apache among whom he was living and was read by "two Religious who go (*andan*) among them with the Juman nation." ("Declaraci  n del Indio Ger  nimo," 1724. MS.)

garded as allies of the Apaches and enemies of the Spaniards. Thus, in 1731 some arrows left by Indians in a fight at San Antonio were declared by an Apache captive to have belonged to "Apaches, Pelones, and Jumanes; that all three are extremely populous and very warlike, and, confident of their great numbers, have annihilated and terrorized all the nations living in these parts, and admit no others to their friendship."<sup>1</sup> A year later it was declared in a *junta de guerra* at San Antonio that in the campaign made by Bustillo against the Apaches in 1732 a *ranchería* which was attacked seventy leagues northwest of San Antonio, in the region of San Sabá, was composed of four tribes, Apache, Ypanda (Pelon?) Yxande, and Chenti. Captives taken declared that the major portion of the tribes had been at the time further west and north, "but not very distant," "that the people who were in said *ranchería* were only a small portion of each nation, there not being in said *Rancheria* any Indians of the Jumanes Nation, which is very numerous and which we know joins with that of the Apaches to come and make war on us." Since the fight was near the San Sabá River, this would put the Jumano in the general region of their old haunts on the "Nueces" River, i. e., the upper Colorado.<sup>2</sup> Again, in a letter of November 26, 1732, to Almazán, the viceroy referred to the Apache, Xumane, and Pelon (Lipan?) as "common enemies of this province."<sup>3</sup> Yet again, in the *residencia* of Bustillo y Zevallos, governor of Texas, at San Antonio in 1734, a witness declared that "he had not heard that during the administration of Bustillo the peaceful tribes had "revolted or allied to do damage to the Jurisdiction with the Apaches, Pelones, Jumanas, Chenttis, or any others who insult These Lands."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, there is plenty of evidence to show that the Jumano of southern Texas, who in the seventeenth century had been bitter but losing enemies of the Apache, have come in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century to be regarded in Texas as the regular allies of the Apache, and that during this period

<sup>1</sup>Almazán to the viceroy, Béxar, December 1, 1731, in "Autos sobre las providencias," etc., 5.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 18, 29.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>4</sup>Testimony of Antonio de los Santos, August 21, 1734. *Autos* of the *residencia*, MS. in the Béxar Archives.

they are still to be found in their old haunts both along the Rio Grande and in central Texas.

And now the Jumano history takes on still a different phase. They come to be regarded not merely as allies of the Apache, but as a division of the Apache, and are called "los Apaches Jumanes." The first expression of this view that has come to the writer's notice is that given in 1733 by Joseph de Urrutia, then captain at San Antonio. Writing on July 4 of that year, he told of his former campaigns with the Pelones (Lipan?) and Jumane, "who, it appears, have now incorporated themselves in the said Apaches, which to me is very strange, because in that time (1693-1700), when I lived among them, they were declared enemies."<sup>1</sup> This affiliation of the Jumano is best reflected in the discussion which occurred in 1746 relative to the suppression of certain garrisons in Nuevo León and the transference of the *presidio* of Sacramento, in northern Coahuila, to the San Xavier River of Texas. One of the principal arguments *per contra* was based on the need of defending the provinces of Coahuila and Nueva León against the Toboso and the "Apaches Jumanes," of the Rio Grande. Bustillo y Zevallos, ex-governor of Texas, wrote on May 28, 1746: "The extinction of the garrisons of Boea de Leones and Serralvo, in the New Kingdom of León, does not seem to me the safest distribution . . . being so useful and so constantly occupied with the continual war, both of the rebellious Indians of its vast jurisdiction, as well as of those who enter from la Nueva Vizcaya, and of the Apaches Jumanes, who, crossing the deserts of the province of Coahuila, pass to the Kingdom and to the neighborhood of Saltillo." With respect to Coahuila, he said: "The arms of the capital of this province, always in the hands of the soldiers, aided by those of El Sacramento, restrain the Nations of Apaches Jumanes, *who are immediately on the other side of the Rio Grande,*<sup>2</sup> and at times on this side. With respect to this, the Governor of the province, as a result of a representation made to him by the Captains of El Sacramento, Rio Grande, and the citizens, a few days ago, made the same representation (*la hizo*) to this Superior Gov-

<sup>1</sup>MS. in the Archivo General y Publico, Mexico. (B. MS. Misc.) This statement seems to shed important light on Lipan history also.

<sup>2</sup>The italics are mine.

ernment, begging license to make a Campaign against them, since the hostilities are continuous on the part of the latter (*estos*) and of the Tobosos, who, with this name, pass from la Viscaya, as said above."<sup>1</sup>

While the above discussion illustrates the way in which in Texas and Coahuila the Jumano had come to be regarded as Apache, being called "Apaches Jumanes," it makes it clear also that in 1746 they were habitually found in the region of the Rio Grande, on the borders of Coahuila and Nueva Viscaya, and that they sometimes made raids into Nuevo Leon.

#### V. THE JUMANO AT WAR WITH THE TAOVAYAS, 1771

A still different turn is given to Jumano history when, as it appears, the Jumano of the Apache alliance engage in bitter warfare with a people of northern Texas called by the same name. As has already been stated, it is now well known that from 1750 forward the Taovayas (Tawéhash) of the Red River country were by the Spaniards of New Mexico frequently called Jumanes (Jumano),<sup>2</sup> that they were bitterly hostile to the Apache, and frequently, if not customarily, allied with the bitterest enemy of the Apache, the Comanche. If the Taovayas in 1750 embraced all the Jumano, a fundamental change, both of affiliation and location, must have come over those found near the Rio Grande in 1746 and at that time called Apaches Jumanes. It is conceivable that such a change might possibly have occurred; but this seems hardly probable, especially in view of evidence recorded in 1771.

The evidence alluded to is as follows: About November, 1771, Alexo. de la Garza Falcón wrote to the viceroy from the *presidio* of San Saba (recently transferred to Villa Nueva de San Fernando)<sup>3</sup> of the need of more soldiers there, in view of the "imminent danger in which it now stands of being attacked by the barbarous, hostile, nations of Indians, Apaches, Farones, Natagés,

<sup>1</sup>Memorial of Bustillo y Zevallos, May 28, 1746, MS.

<sup>2</sup>Bolton, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 705; Hodge, "The Jumano Indians," 19-20.

<sup>3</sup>Near modern Eagle Pass. I am indebted to Mr. W. E. Dunn for aid in the location of the *presidio* of San Saba at this time. The later movements of that establishment are very hard to trace, and have never been successfully followed until recently, when Mr. Dunn made an exhaustive study of the subject.

Mescaleros, Jumanes, Lipanes, and other frontier nations allied with them, both on account of the continual robberies and murders which they commit [in] this neighborhood, and because there are now at a distance of ten leagues from this *Presidio* about 3,000 of said nations, and others not known, who, on the occasion of having come out victorious from an encounter which they had with the Comanches and Taguaias [Taovayas, Jumano], gathered to celebrate the victory and eat some of the Comanche and Taguaias prisoners whom they captured."<sup>1</sup>

If this experienced frontier officer, stationed at a fort on the edge of the *Apachería*, and which was designed originally to withstand the attacks of the Comanche and the Taovayas, knew the Indian situation, and did not by mere accident include the Jumano in his enumeration, we have in 1771 a people called Jumano celebrating a recent victory over other people called Jumano. Such an inadvertence of Falcón's part would seem hardly likely to occur, in view of the conditions which had called the *presidio* of San Saba into existence. Yet the fact that aside from this one, no reference to Jumano in Texas other than the Taovayas has been noted later than 1750, leads one to wonder if some such error was not made by the officer. But, if this statement was correct, it is clear that not all of the Jumano had been absorbed by the Wichita in 1771, and that at that date there were two people by the same name at war with each other.<sup>2</sup>

Here I leave the matter without offering a solution of this point, or of several others which will now inevitably be raised. Enough has been said to show that the Jumano were by no means a lost tribe in the eighteenth century; that from 1650 (at least, and probably from 1632, as well as much earlier) they were frequently encountered in west-central and southern Texas; and that unless there were distinct divisions whose separate histories have not been traced, they more than once changed their relations with the Apache, whose enemies they have usually if not always been regarded.

<sup>1</sup>MS. in the Archivo General, Mexico.

<sup>2</sup>A corollary to this would be the conclusion that "Taovayas" can not be taken as synonymous with "Jumano" wherever it is found.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

COLUMBUS DAY.—Chapter 37 of the General Laws of the Thirty-second Legislature, approved March 10, 1911, recognizes Columbus Day, October 12, as a legal holiday in Texas.

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Mrs. Joseph B. Dibrell, Vice-Chairman of the Texas Library and Historical Commission, has been appointed Texas regent of the Confederate Museum at Richmond Virginia, to succeed the late Mrs. A. V. Winkler, who was removed by death on May 4, 1911.

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The sudden death, on December 31, 1910, of Ludolf F. La-frentz, editor and publisher of the *Deutsch-Texanische Monatshefte*, has suspended the publication of that magazine. Mr. La-frentz has resided in Texas since 1852. For many years he cherished the plan of writing a history of the Germans in Texas. Fragments and reminiscences appeared in the *Monatshefte*.

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The monument, erected by the State at Huntsville, Texas, over the grave of Sam Houston, was unveiled on the afternoon of April 21st. The attendance was large. State Senator McDonald Meachum and Hon. William Jennings Bryan were the principal speakers.

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“The women of the federated clubs here have erected a life-size statue of Gov. J. W. Throckmorton on a pedestal placed on the lawn east of the courthouse. . . . It was the work of a Waco artist and is pronounced by many to be an excellent likeness. Gov. Throckmorton is represented as standing with his right hand and arm extended as if addressing a crowd.”—Dispatch from McKinney to the *Dallas News* of April 30, 1911.

OFFICERS KILLED IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO.—On May 25, 1910, the Colonial Dames of America in Texas unveiled a bronze tablet, erected to the memory of the officers of the United States army who fell in the war with Mexico (1846-7). The tablet is placed under the picture "Santa Anna before Houston," which adorns the west wall of the vestibule of the State Capitol. At the regular session of the thirty-second legislature a resolution was adopted formally accepting this gift. The introduction to this resolution is misleading; it recites that "desiring to preserve the names of the officers of the United States army, who assisted Texas and who fell in the war with Mexico." etc., etc. Wherein have these officers "assisted Texas" more than any other State of the Union?

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Association has received from Rev. George L. Crockett, Rector of Christ's Church, San Augustine, Texas, a file of *The Red-Lander*, complete, except for one or two numbers, from October 2, 1845, to April 9, 1846. This paper was published at San Augustine.

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The following is the title of a pamphlet recently issued: *Account of the removal of the remains of Stephen F. Austin from Peach Point Cemetery in Brazoria County, Texas, to State Cemetery, Austin, Texas, October 18 to 20, 1910.* The pamphlet was compiled by Guy M. Bryan, Jr., of Houston, and contains 56 pages.

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The *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library for January, 1911, contains a "List of the Official Publications of the Confederate Government in the Virginia State Library and the Library of the Confederate Memorial Society." In an introduction other important bibliographies in this field are mentioned, and the libraries possessing extensive collections are named. In an appendix are reprinted four reports made by the Superintendent of Public Printing of the Confederacy.

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*Translations of Early Texas Session Laws.*—The State Library has recently secured by purchase three rare items belonging to the early legal bibliography of the Republic and State of Texas. The most valuable of these is a translation into Spanish of 116 of the important general laws passed by the first three Congresses of the Republic of Texas, 1836-1841. The volume was printed at Houston in 1841 and the translation was made by S. P. Andrews. In addition to the laws, it contains translations of the Declaration of November 7, 1835, of the Plan and Powers of the Provisional Government of Texas, of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution, adopted March 17, 1836.

The second item is a translation into German, printed in Roman type, of 101 of the general laws of the third session of the State

legislature, 1849-1850; it was translated into German by Albert Max von Germar and was printed at Austin in 1850.

The third item is a German translation, printed in German type and transliterated, of 62 of the general laws and 17 of the special laws of the fifth State legislature, 1853-1854. The translator was Alexander Rossy; the press "der San Antonio-Zeitungs-Office," 1854.

The State Library already had a German translation of part of the laws of the fourth State legislature made by C. N. Riotte and printed at Galveston in 1853.

The rarity of the volumes is apparent from the fact that they are not mentioned in Raines's *Bibliography of Texas* nor in any other bibliographical aid as far as has been discovered. Further, their existence was not known to the Library of Congress, the library of Harvard University Law School, the New York Public Library, or the New York State Library, which are the largest law libraries in the country, until an inquiry was addressed to them by the State Library at Austin.

Translations of session laws into German, Spanish and Norwegian (this in 1858) were authorized at various times between 1837 and 1858 but it is not definitely known just how many authorized translations were actually made. And of those made it is not known how many are still extant. Copies of these laws no doubt exist in localities where Spanish, German and Norwegian are spoken, since the laws authorizing the translations in the early days specified that they should be distributed where they would be of most use. Any one who will aid in locating additional copies of these laws or in furnishing information relative to them will receive the hearty and deserved thanks of the State Library, which is endeavoring to collect and preserve the annals of the State.

JOHN BOYNTON KAISER.

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*Laws and Decrees of Coahuila and Texas Wanted.*—Certain decrees are omitted from the compilation of *Laws and Decrees of Coahuila and Texas*, translated by J. P. Kimball and published at Houston in 1839. Among those omitted are those listed below, which are much needed, and any information concerning them will be gratefully acknowledged by the State Library, Austin, Texas.

Decrees of the constituent congress:

No. 37. Regulations to be observed in the administration of the towns as regards the political economy thereof. Dated June 13, 14, or 15, 1827.

No. 39. Law for the regulation of justice. Dated June 20, 21 or 22, 1827.

Decrees of the constitutional congress:

No. 48. Rules of the executive council. Dated somewhere between March 16 and April 12, 1828.

No. 98. Municipal ordinances for the internal regulation of the ayuntamiento of Bexar. Dated May 29 or 30, 1829.

No. 99. Municipal ordinances of the ayuntamiento of Goliad. Dated May 29 or 30, 1829.

No. 102. Internal regulations of the executive department of the State. Dated May 29 or 30, 1829.

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*The Unvarnished West: Ranching as I found It.* By J. M. Pollock. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., n. d. [1907?] p. 253. 8vo.

The author is an Englishman. In the early eighties he went to Wisconsin and spent a year as a hired hand on a farm. Then for six or eight years he lived in the Concho country northwest of San Angelo, Texas, and the volume he says is mainly "a record of experiences which fell to my lot while ranching?" The merit of the volume consists in the picture it preserves of the life on a cattle ranch in that section of Texas. Some of the topics are the trackless plains, "free-grass" troubles, droughts and windmills, prairie fires; game and hunting, skunks and rattlesnakes, coyotes; the cattle, the round-ups, cattle drives, northers and stampedes; the cow boy and his pony, horse trading, cooking and plain fare, the hard bed and unwelcome bedfellows, sunshine and shadows of the range. The illustrations, while perhaps reproduced from photographs of more recent date than the events narrated, are judiciously selected and well reproduced. The narrative is plain and straightforward and the views expressed indicate an understanding of and sympathy with the life described. W.

*Reminiscences of the Civil War and other Sketches* is the title of a twenty-six page pamphlet by Ralph J. Smith, of San Marcos. Mr. Smith belonged to Company K, Second Texas Infantry. The company was organized by Clark Owen in Jackson county and ordered to Houston in October, 1861. In March of the next year it was ordered to the front and participated in the battle of Shiloh, April 6th. In this battle the author was wounded and captured, and spent the next six months in Northern prisons recuperating. After being exchanged, he rejoined his command, and served in and near Vicksburg. The fall of Vicksburg again made him a prisoner, but he was soon paroled and came home. Having been assured of his exchange, he again entered the service in October, 1863, but spent most of the time at Galveston till the close of the war.

The author does not pretend to write history. The reminiscences concerning his personal adventures and of such men as Colonels John C. Moore and Ashbel Smith are told in language that is sometimes quite picturesque.

W.

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*Hood's Texas Brigade, Its Marches, Battles, and Achievements.* By J. B. Polley. [New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1910. Pp. 347.]

It is safe to say that no single brigade on either side in the Civil War gained greater or more merited fame than Hood's Texas Brigade. Composed at first of the First, Fourth, and Fifth Texas, the Eighteenth Georgia, and Hampton's Legion from South Carolina, and later of the three Texas regiments and the Third Arkansas, and serving most of the time in the division of its favorite commander, John B. Hood, it has always clung to its distinctive name. Proud of its reputation, the survivors have maintained an active organization, erected to their comrades a monument in Austin, and have commissioned one of their number to write "a fair and impartial history" of its career and services.

Mr. Polley has executed his commission most admirably; the volume is well conceived and well written. The greater part of the story is compiled from the memories and diaries of the author and his surviving comrades, but it is substantiated by the official records as far as they have been preserved. Naturally enough,

the narrative reflects the experiences of the private in the ranks more than that of the officer, and is not the less interesting for doing that; but still it presents a fairly adequate view of the general problems of the several campaigns and thus gives to the work of the brigade its proper setting. The author's happy style has made the book very readable, very unlike the great bulk of regimental and brigade histories that are content with little more than muster rolls and the bare recital of marches and battles and losses. Humor and tragedy are mingled in genuine reflection of the life of the camp; but tragedy predominates, for we know that the ever-deciminating regiments are fighting against inevitable defeat. He must be phlegmatic, indeed, who can follow without a thrill of wonder and admiration this intimate story of the weary marches, the perilous skirmishes, and the desperate charges of those poorly clad and poorly fed troops, and of the splendid fighting spirit they maintained throughout it all from Eltham's Landing to Appomattox.

The volume is illustrated with some twenty portraits, chiefly of survivors of the brigade. It contains at the end two lists: one of all officers and men who were enlisted in the Texas regiments during the war, another, in painful contrast, the meager remnant that surrendered at Appomattox.

CHAS. W. RAMSDELL.

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*A Texas Pioneer.* By August Santleben, edited by I. D. Affleck. [New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1910. Pp. 321.]

The parents of August Santleben came to Texas from Germany in 1845, when he was only a few months old. He grew up on the frontier near Castroville and served as a mail-carrier, a private in E. J. Davis's regiment—the First Texas (Union) Cavalry—1863-1865, as a stage driver, 1866-1867, and as a freight-contractor between San Antonio and Monterey, Saltillo and Chihuahua, 1867-1877. In later years he has been engaged in business and politics in San Antonio.

His autobiography, though concerned chiefly with personal experiences, nevertheless, presents an interesting picture of the ante-railroad days on both sides of the Rio Grande, and especially of

the methods and difficulties of transportation between Texas and Mexico when it was dependent upon the slow, squeaking, clumsy Mexican ox-carts or even the trains of huge freight wagons drawn by mule-teams. The organization of the wagon-train, the long drives between watering places, the precautions necessary against Indians and white robbers are simply but vividly detailed; while the statements as to the heavy freight charges and the infrequent arrival of the caravans emphasize to this later generation the cost and scarcity of even simple luxuries and comforts on the frontier. Here is presented considerable data, both social and economic, that may be of service to the future historian of the Texas frontier. The coming of the railroad to San Antonio in 1877 and its rapid extension westward put the wagon trains out of business and transformed the adventurous Indian-country freighter into a ward politician and the head of a transfer company in San Antonio!

The author has the helpful habit of connecting with interesting incidents the names of living individuals from his wide circle of acquaintances in both Texas and Mexico. Among the last chapters are some giving an interesting account of the settlement of Castroville and the adjacent communities. There is also a list "from memory" of prominent families in San Antonio between 1845 and 1857, a period, by the way, which belonged to the childhood of the author and before he could, by his own account, have been very well acquainted with the town.

The editor has not succeeded in correcting all errors of grammar and diction; but it would be ungrateful to cavil at the language of an old frontiersman, which, indeed, is generally clear and direct enough. Every person interested in the history of the border should be glad that the book is written.

CHARLES W. RAMSDALL.

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## THE REVOLT OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO IN 1680<sup>1</sup>

CHARLES WILSON HACKETT

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Since 1869, when W. W. H. Davis published his popular history of The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, practically no new light has been thrown upon the events attending the revolt of the Pueblo Indians of that province in 1680. For the preparation of that part of his book dealing with this subject, Davis used principally the *Extractos* of the original *autos* of the revolt and of the first attempt at reconquest, which he found at Santa Fé. But there have recently come to light in the Mexican archives the originals of the *autos* themselves, and a comparison of them with the *Extractos* shows that the latter are relatively very meager indeed. This fact, together with the renewed and growing interest in the history of the Southwest, is ample justification for studying anew this important period in the Spanish régime in New Mexico.

The *autos* referred to consist of documents drawn up, in official and authentic form during the progress of the revolt, the defence by the Spaniards, the retreat, the reorganization at Paso del Norte (Juarez), and the reconquest. They comprise

<sup>1</sup>This paper was prepared in connection with Professor Bolton's seminar in Southwestern History at Leland Stanford Junior University.

acts of the Cabildo of Santa Fé; sworn declarations of witnesses to events; orders of the governor; letters written by him, Father Ayeta, and other persons prominent in the period; proceedings of *juntas*, or councils, held to discuss the difficulties; acts of the government at Mexico, etc. Those covering the period 1680-1682 consist of 243 folios, or twice that number of pages, small folio size, of original manuscript. They are contained in two *expedientes*, or groups, of documents. The first is entitled: *Auttos tocantes; al Alsamiento de los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico*.<sup>1</sup> The title of the second is: *Autos Perteneccientes a el alçamiento de los Yndios de la Proua del Nuevo Mexico y la entrada, Y subgesos de ella que se hizo para su recuperacion*.<sup>2</sup> These documents were found several years ago in the archives of Mexico by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, and a complete transcript of them, as well as of those for the period following, have been secured by him.<sup>3</sup> The two *expedientes* are cited hereinafter as *Auttos tocantes* and *Autos Perteneccientes*, respectively.

There are indications that Bandelier, the authority on matters pertaining to early New Mexico, has had access to these documents, but as he has not yet revealed the source or the exact nature of his materials for this period, this fact has not been determined.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, no published history of the revolt has been based upon the original *autos*. In contrast with these, the

<sup>1</sup>It is further described as *Num 27. de los Papeles del Supor. Govno. Año de 1681. Segundo quaderno de Numo. 6. Pa. remitir a leon. Srio. Don Pedro Valesques de la Cadena. Expediente no. 6. N. fojas 123.*

<sup>2</sup>It is further described as *Varios Hechos de los Indios de Nuevo Mejico Numo 2o Año de 1682 Expediente no. 2 y fojas 120. Srio. D. Pedro Valasquez de la Cadena.*

<sup>3</sup>The transcripts were made under the immediate supervision of Mr. W. E. Dunn, Dr. Bolton's assistant in the Mexican archives. The manuscript of these *autos* is very hard to decipher, and no small credit is due to Mr. Dunn and his co-laborer, Miss Dolores Hurtado, for their excellent and expert work in helping to make these manuscripts available.

<sup>4</sup>After this paper had been written, Bandelier published his "Bibliographical Introduction" to a *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos of New Mexico* (Papers of the American School of Archaeology, Number Thirteen). In that paper he mentions in a general way documents in the archives of Mexico relating to the revolt of 1680, but gives no definite statement of their character. Bandelier (*op. cit.*, p. 15) says that "we must remain more or less in the dark as to the conditions and the details of events prior to 1692." From this we infer that he has not seen the many hundreds of pages of original documents in the Mexican archives dealing specifically with New Mexico between 1680 and 1692.

*Extractos*, Davis's principal source, contain only summaries or fragments of documents selected from the whole mass of originals, and in bulk are only one-eighth or one-tenth as full as the originals, while the selection is not always the best.<sup>1</sup>

With these and other available materials at my disposal, my ultimate purpose is to give a fuller and more critical account of the revolt as well as of the reconquest than either Davis or Bancroft were able to give with the sources at their command. The aim of this paper, however, which is only a portion of a larger and as yet incomplete monograph, is to tell only the story of the organization and the outbreak of the revolt, together with the defensive measures at once adopted by the Spaniards. It is not purposed even to discuss, except in a summary and by no means final manner, the actual conditions of the province at the time of the revolt, nor the causes and events leading up to the outbreak. The sources used in this paper consist largely of the original *autos*, as described above, for the period from August 9, 1680, to the 21st of that month. Some, however, dated as late as the winter of 1680-1681, at which time Otermín was attempting a reconquest of the province, have also been used. Other materials have been secured from the Bancroft Collection. To a few documents for the period known to exist I have not yet had access, but hope that they may be available for the revised and completed monograph.<sup>2</sup>

## I. INTRODUCTION

That period of New Mexican history which may be called the era of discovery and exploration lasted from 1540 to 1596.<sup>3</sup> Dur-

<sup>1</sup>My knowledge of the *Extractos* is based on the copy contained in the Bancroft Collection, at the University of California; and on the notes given by Bancroft and Bandelier. The title of these documents, as given by Bancroft, is *Otermín, Extractos de Doc. Hist. N. Mex., sacados de los autos existentes en el oficio del Supremo gobierno de esta corte, que sobre el Levantamiento del año de 1680 formó Don Antonio de Otermín, gobernador y capitán general del mismo reino* (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 177).

<sup>2</sup>See the catalogue of the Bandelier Collection, in the *Report of the U. S. Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-93*, pp. 305-326. Some of these are apparently documents contained in the *autos* at my disposal. See also Bandelier's "Bibliographical Introduction," cited above, pp. 20-22, for other sources.

<sup>3</sup>For the facts in this general summary of New Mexican history from 1540 to 1680 I am indebted largely to the following works: Bancroft,

ing those years there were several important exploring expeditions into what is now New Mexico, the first and most significant of which was that of Coronado, 1540-42. Nothing permanent resulted from this expedition, and partly because the Spaniards were disappointed at not having found the great wealth which they had come to believe existed in that country, New Mexico was practically forgotten for nearly forty years. With the expedition of Father Rodríguez in 1581, however, interest was revived, and from then until 1596 there were several expeditions into the territory, the most important being that of Espejo in the years 1582-83. The chief significance attached to these later *entradas*, aside from the revival of interest, and additional ethnological and geographical knowledge gained, lies in the fact that a shorter route to the New Mexican *pueblos* was opened up by crossing northern Chihuahua to the Rio Grande, and then proceeding up that river.

The actual conquest and occupation of New Mexico took place in the years 1598-99 under Don Juan de Oñate, a rich and prominent citizen of Nueva Galicia. Omitting details, which are well

*Arizona and New Mexico*; Bandelier, "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States," in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American Series, V; Bandelier, "Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico," in *Ibid.*, American Series, I; Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*; Hakluyt, *Early English Voyages to America*, III; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*; Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, part I; Vetaneur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico. Quarta parte del Teatro Mexicano de los successos Religiosos. Compuesta, etc. En Mexico. Año de 1697.*

Concerning the spelling of the name of this author there is some confusion. On the title-page, and also in the "Dedicatoria" of the edition of the *Crónica* cited above, the author's name is given as Vetaneur. In the same volume the *Menologio Franciscano* is printed, but with a separate title-page, undated, and with separate pagination. On this title-page, and also in the "Protesta" of the *Menologio* the name is given as Vetaneurt. In 1698 the first, second and third parts of the *Teatro Mexicano* were published in one volume; on the title-page, and in the "Dedicatoria" of this volume the form Vetaneurt is found again. In 1871 the *Teatro Mexicano* and the *Menologio* were reprinted in Mexico as volumes VII, VIII, IX and X of the *Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia*, and as volumes I, II, III and IV of Vetaneurt's works. The first two volumes (volumes VII and VIII of the *Biblioteca*) contain the first, second and third parts of the *Teatro*. The third volume (volume IX of the *Biblioteca*) contains the *Crónica . . . Cuarta Parte del Teatro Mexicano*, while the fourth volume (volume X of the *Biblioteca*) contains the *Menologio*. In all four of these volumes, on the title-page and elsewhere, the author's name is spelled Vetaneurt. In the "Noticia sobre el Padre

known, it is sufficient here to state that according to the best authorities Oñate, with about four hundred men, of whom one hundred and thirty were accompanied by their families, reached the country of the Pueblo Indians in the early summer of 1598. In July of that year they formally took possession of the province at a *junta* of the representatives from thirty-four *pueblos*, and in a short while the establishment of Spanish authority in New Mexico was complete.

The history of New Mexico as a Spanish province from 1598 to 1680 is little known in detail, due to the fact that when the natives rose in revolt in the latter year they captured the archives covering the events of that period and burned them in the plaza of Santa Fé. From 1598 to 1620 the quarrels between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were the most noteworthy incidents, and in the end they came near bringing destruction to the whole colony. By 1630, however, the affairs were on a firmer footing, and besides the fifty friars who ministered to many thousand Christianized natives—more than 60,000 according to Benavides<sup>1</sup>—there was also a garrison of two hundred and fifty soldiers stationed at Santa Fé. For the period from 1630 to 1680

Vetancurt," published in the first volume of the 1871 edition, the editor states that the writer in question himself signed his name with the final "t." From the foregoing, therefore, it seems that his name was Vetancurt. Inasmuch as all the citations in this article are to the 1697 edition of the *Crónica*, I have consistently spelled the author's name as it appears in that book. Bancroft, in the list of authorities given in his *Arizona and New Mexico*, spells the name Vetancurt, but in the text and footnotes Vetancur.

Misleading statements in regard to the *Teatro Mexicano* have appeared in the works of other modern writers. For instance, Bandelier says, "Sixty-eight years after Benavides' time the *Teatro Mexicano* of the Franciscan Fray Agustin de Vetancurt was published. The third and fourth parts of this important work, namely the *Cronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* and the *Menologio Franciscano* are of the highest value." (Papers of the American School of Archaeology, Number 13: *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos*, Bibliographical Introduction, p. 19.) As a matter of fact the whole of the *Teatro* was not published in 1698, but only the first three parts; the fourth part, the *Crónica*, as is pointed out above, was published in 1697. Moreover, the *Menologio* is not a part of the *Teatro*, although it is bound with the 1697 edition of the *Crónica*. Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, p. 1219) repeats the mistake by Bandelier just pointed out. I may add that my knowledge of the *Teatro Mexicano* and the *Menologio Franciscano* is based on an examination of the 1697, 1698 and 1871 editions of these works.

<sup>1</sup>Benavides, "Memorial," translated in *The Land of Sunshine*, vol. XIII.

few authoritative sources have as yet come to light, and only occasional references to what was going on. During this time there were several expeditions to the Texas frontier, while the internal dissensions were renewed. But most important of all was the growing discontent of the natives. Interfered with in their economic and religious activities, they frequently plotted how they might throw off the yoke of oppression, and between 1645 and 1675 there were several attempts at armed rebellion. All of these, however, were easily suppressed, and it was not until 1680 that a revolt was successfully put into operation.

In this paper only a bare mention of what seems to have been the underlying causes of the revolt will be attempted, the full discussion being reserved for the complete story.<sup>1</sup> In the first place, as noted above, the efforts of the Spaniards to suppress not only the religious beliefs but also the ancient habits and customs of the Indians in other respects, and to make them conform to European methods of living, created friction between the two races. The Indians, however, continued well grounded in their native religious beliefs and practices,<sup>2</sup> and the Spaniards found it practically impossible to suppress them either by the number of missionaries brought in, or by the severity of the punishments inflicted. In 1675 these "superstitious practices" reached such alarming extremes that Governor Treviño determined to stamp them out for good. Having captured forty-seven medicine men, who were alleged to be guilty of sorcery and withcraft, he hanged three of them, as a warning to future soothsayers, and inflicted severe punishment upon the others, among whom was a certain native named Popé. Davis<sup>3</sup> has a wrong impression of the

<sup>1</sup>The following original documents have been consulted for the causes of the revolt: "(Declaracion) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 55-56; "declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Autos tocantes*, 12-13; *Auto* of Otermin, in *Autos tocantes*, 1-2; *Ibid.*, 13; "declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 50-51; *Auto* of Ayeta, in *Ibid.*, 59; "declaracion de Joseph Yndio Ladino—," in *Ibid.*, 24; "declaracion de Po. garcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, 10-11; "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 22; "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Ibid.*, 26-27; "Auto y diligencia (de Otermin)," in *Autos tocantes*, 5-7; "declaracion de un indio alsado," in *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>2</sup>"(Declaracion) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 55-56.

<sup>3</sup>*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 285.

part which Popé took in the affairs of 1675. He makes the statement that this Indian was the leader of a band of seventy Tewa warriors who went down to Santa Fé to demand the release of the forty-seven imprisoned medicine men. Popé, however, was one of the medicine men whose release the Tewa warriors effectively demanded of Governor Treviño.<sup>1</sup> The story of the activities of Popé from that time until 1680 are most interesting. On being released from captivity in 1675, he returned to his *pueblo*, smarting under the punishment he had received, and full of resentment for the Spaniards. He at once began making preparations for a general revolt, and being driven from San Juan by the continued persecutions of the *maestro de campo*, Francisco Xavier, he moved his base of operations to Taos. There he arrogated unto himself supernatural power, claiming to be directed in all his movements by three infernal spirits named Caudi, Tiliui, and Tleume, who visited him in the *estufa* of that *pueblo*. These spirits, it was believed, were working for a revolt in conjunction with the lieutenant of their war god, Montezuma, in the far off land of Po-he-yemu. The combined influences of all these beliefs cannot be overestimated. Other miscellaneous influences, such as the offering of prizes to the warriors by the chiefs; the belief that the Spaniards could all be driven out of the country; and the almost universal desire to return to their ancient customs, all operated to make the revolt of the Indians general.

Before taking up the subject of the organization of the revolt, a few words are necessary on the general conditions in New Mexico in 1680. At that time there were approximately 2,800 Spanish inhabitants in the province. Of this number the majority were settlers of the southern district, known as Rio Abajo, while the rest were for the most part living in the vicinity of the *villa* of Santa Fé. The occupation of the people was largely stock raising and intensive agriculture, and, while there was no regular *presidio*, there were a number of regular soldiers with headquarters at the *villa*. Besides the settlers and soldiers, there were the thirty-two.<sup>2</sup> Franciscan missionaries distributed throughout the

<sup>1</sup>See "(Declaracion) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 56; Testimony of Ayeta, in *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>2</sup>Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 179.

province. The Governor and Captain-General was Don Antonio de Otermín, while his appointee, Alonso García, served as Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General in Rio Abajo.

The Indian situation deserves a somewhat fuller treatment. The number of Christianized natives was about 16,000. This did not include the heathen tribes who were allied with the revolters, and who occupied territory extending more than two hundred leagues from Santa Fé.<sup>1</sup> The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico comprised three linguistic groups or stocks—the Zuñian, the Tanoan, and the Keresean (Queres). The Zuñian family occupied three *pueblos* in the extreme western part of New Mexico, and its total population numbered at that time about 2,500 inhabitants. The other two families were located in the valley of the Rio Grande, where they were divided into a number of tribes, or nations, as the Spaniards spoke of them, each of which was practically independent of any tribal or national domination, and free to act as its own councils saw fit. Of these two families the Tanoan was the largest, and comprised the five important tribes of the Piros, Tigua (*Tiguas*), Tanos (*Tagnos*), Jemez (*Xemes* or *Hemes*), and Tewa (*Teguas*) Indians.<sup>2</sup> The Keresean family was not nearly so large. It was divided into the Western and Eastern groups, the former comprising the inhabitants of the *pueblo* of Acoma and its environs, and the latter occupying the country north of the junction of the Rio Grande and Rio Jemez, and commonly known as the Queres nation. It is thus seen that there were six important tribe-nations in the Rio Grande valley. Of these only the Piros remained friendly to the Spaniards. Other details concerning individual tribes with citations of sources are given farther on.

No story connected with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico would be adequate without some description, however brief and incomplete, of the large communal village-houses of these people, known as *pueblos*, which have excited the admiration and wonder of civilized men since Coronado's day. These houses, several of which are still standing, much as they were in 1680, were fre-

<sup>1</sup>Auto of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Auttos tocantes*, 73-75.

<sup>2</sup>In the spelling of the names of the Indian tribes and *pueblos* I have taken the forms used in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, as my standard. In the documentary matter used, there is, as a usual thing, a variety of forms for all these names. Tewa and Tanos, however, are practically always spelled *Teguas* and *Tagnos*.

quently from three to seven stories high, and were built of adobe brick, stone, and mortar with walls several feet thick. The ground floor of a *pueblo* was used only for storerooms and granaries for the whole tribe. They had no doors, windows, or other openings in the walls, the only means of access being by ladders to the flat roof above, and then down through a trap door. Several feet back from the edge of the roof of the first story were erected the walls of the second story, and above it similarly, in the manner of retreating terraces, were the other stories, decreasing in size as the *pueblo* rose. These upper stories had doors and windows opening out on the flat roofs of the ones just below them, though the only means of access from one story to another consisted of ladders, just as these were used also in getting to the first roof. The object in this was purely a defensive one, since the Indians could pull up their ladders behind them and thus convert their *pueblo* into a veritable fortress, from the terraces of which they could shoot arrows and hurl stones at an enemy without much danger to themselves. Some of these *pueblos* had as many as six hundred apartments, and were easily able to hold one thousand or more persons. Sometimes there were three or four of these buildings so arranged as to form a square or open court between them, in the center of which was the *estufa*, or religious and social meeting place of the whole tribe. It is thus seen that in the construction of their *pueblos* the Indians of New Mexico combined with the idea of defense that of adapting their houses to their communal system of government. With danger from the wandering and warlike Apache and Navajo Indians removed, however, and with modern influences surrounding these people, many of the *pueblos* are now being abandoned and are rapidly falling into decay.

## II. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLT

### 1. *The Plans of the Allies*

The many revolutionary meetings of the chiefs and medicine men of the northern *pueblos* and the personal influence of Popé finally resulted in the formulation of plans for a general revolt. The greatest secrecy, however, was enjoined. Only the leaders were entrusted with the plot until a short while before the outbreak; and because Popé believed that his own son-in-law, Nicolás

Bua, Indian governor of the *pueblo* of San Juan, was planning to inform the Spaniards of their evil intentions, he killed him in his own house.<sup>1</sup> The plans as arranged were for the Indians of the different *pueblos* all over the province at a set time, suddenly to seize the arms of the unsuspecting Spaniards in their midst, fall upon them, and put an end to as many of them as possible, sparing neither men, women, children, nor missionaries.<sup>2</sup> All the roads were to be guarded and every avenue of escape blocked for the inhabitants of the outlying districts; while the *villa* of Santa Fé was to be cut off from the more populous settlements of Rio Abajo, by the occupation of a district of more than thirty leagues extent in the center of the province.<sup>3</sup> With all the *pueblos*, mountain slopes, and paths infested by Pueblo warriors, who were to be aided by their ancient enemies, the Apaches,<sup>4</sup> it was thought that the destruction of the Governor, the people of the *villa*, and the few settlers from outside who might take refuge there, would be inevitable, while those who escaped the general slaughter in Rio Abajo would be killed by the allies of the Pueblos, the Mansos Indians to the south,<sup>5</sup> near El Paso. Having meted out their vengeance on the settlers of the different jurisdictions, robbed their houses, driven off the horses and cattle from their *haciendas* and *estancias*, burned the churches, and profaned and destroyed their sacred contents, the whole body of warriors from all over the province was to assemble at Santa Fé,<sup>6</sup> where the final scenes of the general slaughter, as they thought, would be enacted, and the last vestige of Spanish authority in New Mexico overthrown, after which the natives would return to their ancient customs.

<sup>1</sup>"Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 21.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Autos tocantes*, 73-75.

<sup>3</sup>"Autto de Jmta de guerra," in *Autos tocantes*, 61-62.

<sup>4</sup>*Auto* of Otermin, in *Autos tocantes*, 1; "Auto y diligencia," in *Ibid.*, 6; "Auto (de Otermin): Salieron el dia 22," in *Ibid.*, 7. Just how much aid the Pueblos were expecting from the Apaches cannot be inferred. That it was the current belief that aid was to be had from them, however, the documents noted above, as well as others cited below, state clearly. On the other hand it cannot be determined how many Apache tribes did take sides with the Pueblos, nor just how much aid they were to them. It is definitely stated, however, that the Apaches in Northern New Mexico took part in the massacre of the Spaniards there (*Autos tocantes*, 22).

<sup>5</sup>*Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Autos tocantes*, 73-75.

<sup>6</sup>"Autto (de Otermin): Salieron el dia 22," in *Autos tocantes*, 7-8.

2. *The Arrangement of the Date, and the Notification of the Pueblos*

With the plans for the rebellion formulated, and with practically all the natives of the entire province ready to obey his commands, Popé had now only to name the day. Acting, as he said, under the orders of the three infernal spirits in the *estufa* of Taos,<sup>1</sup> he sent out a cord with some knots tied in it to represent the number of days that should intervene before the revolt. Davis<sup>2</sup> erroneously states that these knots designated the 10th as the day for the uprising, while Bancroft<sup>3</sup> is under the impression that the 13th was meant. The evidence shows conclusively, however, that the knots indicated the 11th of August as the date set for the outbreak of the revolt.<sup>4</sup> The cord was carried from *pueblo*

<sup>1</sup>"Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, 27.

<sup>2</sup>*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 288-290.

<sup>3</sup>*Arizona and New Mexico*, 176.

<sup>4</sup>Regarding the date originally arranged for the revolt, and the date which the knotted cord signified, there is some confusion. The original plan seems to have been to rise on the 13th, for on the 9th Otermín in Santa Fé received three reports to that effect from three different and widely separated sources. The first one of these was from the Father Visitor Fray Juan Bernal at Galisteo, the second from the Father Preacher Fray Fernando de Velasco at Pecos, and the third from the *alcalde mayor* Marcos de Dehezas at Taos. On the same day, moreover, the Indian governors and captains of the Tanos *pueblos*, and those of San Marcos and La Ciénega, who were all unwilling to agree to the plans as presented to them by the representatives from Tesnque, named Catua and Omtua, betrayed these plans to the Governor, stating to him that the 13th was the day set, but they made no reference to a knotted cord. However, Catua and Omtua, on being arrested and brought before Otermín, testified, also on the 9th, that they had been given a cord with two knots in it, to carry to the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs, and that this signified that only two days remained before they were all to revolt. ( . . . "dandoles dos nudos en vna correa de gamusa que significaban los dos dias que faltaban pa. la execucion de su trasion.") This would make the 11th the date settled upon, and that date is further established by the testimony of a Queres Indian, named Pedro Naranjo, who was examined by Otermín in 1681, when the latter was attempting a reconquest of the province, and who testified definitely that Catua and Omtua were captured two days before the time set for the revolt. ( . . . "y teniendolo assi dispuesto dos dias antes de la ejecucion por Tener noticia su ssa, y auer presso dos Yndios Complices del pueblo de tesuque.")

The question now arises, why did the Tanos chiefs who had just been visited by Catua and Omtua tell Otermín that the date agreed upon was the 13th? The following answer is suggested: As has already been stated the original date agreed upon seems to have been the 13th, but

to *pueblo* by the swiftest runners, the chiefs of each receiving it and passing it on to those in the next.<sup>1</sup> In this way the message sped through the whole province as far south as Isleta,<sup>2</sup> only the Piros nation being slighted. The bearers were enjoined to the strictest secrecy, and were threatened with death if they revealed to improper persons the significance of the cord.<sup>3</sup>

evidently, for some reason not stated, this date was changed. Accordingly, when Catua and Omtua reached the Tanos *pueblos*, finding their chiefs opposed to the revolt, and fearing to divulge the new date, they probably led them to believe that the 13th was still the date agreed upon, in this way making excuse for their presence among them. Not knowing of their deception, therefore, the chiefs told Otermín that the date for the revolt was the 13th. For the evidence on this subject see: *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, 1-2; "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 22; "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>1</sup>"Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 22; "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 27.

<sup>2</sup>It is possible that the same cord did not pass to all the *pueblos*, for it is mentioned in one place as being a leather strap (*vna correa de gamusa*), and in another as being made of the fibers of plants (*Un mecate de palmilla*).

<sup>3</sup>As to the full meaning of the knotted cord there is also some confusion. All the testimony on this subject is plain in stating that the number of knots signified the number of days that were to intervene before the revolt. (See: Testimony of Catua and Omtua, *Auto* of Otermín, *Autos tocantes*, 1-2; "declaracion del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 22; "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Ibid.*, 27.) Pedro Naranjo, however, the last Indian deponent who makes any reference to the subject, says, further, that the cord ran through all the *pueblos* of the kingdom, in order that whatever *pueblo* might join in it should untie a knot in sign of obedience, and by the remaining knots they would know the days that were lacking for the revolt. ( . . . "y le dijeron que hiciesse Un mecate de palmilla y en el amarrasse Vnos ñudos que era la Significacion de los dias que hauian de Tardar en alçarse y que dho mecate Corrio por Todos pueblos del reyno pa aquel que Viniesse en ello desattasse Vn ñudo en señal de obedecimiento y por los demas ñudos Congieran los dias falttauan y esto fue con pena de muertte a los que no vinieran en ellos" . . .) The only explanation for such a statement is that the Indian confused the time element with the way the *pueblos* were to signify their obedience to the order of the allies to make the revolt general. This inference is supported, further along, by the statement of the same Indian to the effect that all the *pueblos* had been instructed to make known their intention of joining in the treason by smoke signals. ( . . . "y en el señal de auisso de hauer admittido la traycion Y alebossias lebantassen Vmos de lo dho en cada Vno de por ssi" . . .) In drawing my conclusion on this subject I think, therefore, that the preponderance of evidence shows that the knotted cord was primarily a means of notifying the *pueblos* of the date determined upon, and that the sign of their obedience was not to be shown by untying a knot, as Davis concluded. The evidence, however, does imply that some knots in the cord were untied, for the Indian Juan stated that Popé tied a number of knots in the cord, while Catua and Omtua

3. *The Discovery of the Plot, and the Premature Uprising*

Notwithstanding the strict secrecy that was enjoined upon the bearers of the knotted cord, the plot was discovered on the 9th of August, only two days before the uprising was to take place. Davis says that "two days before the time fixed upon, two Indians of Tezuque went down to Santa Fé, and divulged the conspiracy to the Spanish governor. They were parties to it, but betrayed their country and the cause to the enemy."<sup>1</sup> In this statement the writer has again conveyed a wrong impression, for the two Indians of Tesuque did not voluntarily go down to Santa Fé to divulge the plans of the allies. The facts in the case are as follows: On August 9 Otermín learned from the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs that two Indians named Catua and Omtua had brought them the order to take part in the contemplated revolt. Immediately upon learning this, Otermín despatched the *maestro de campo*, Francisco Gomez Robledo, to arrest Catua and Omtua, and by him on the same day they were carried as prisoners before the Governor. Having been duly sworn to tell the truth, these Indians stated all that they knew concerning the revolt. They testified that two knots in a cord; which signified the number of days that were to intervene before the revolt, had been given to them to carry in all secrecy to the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs; that with it they carried the threat of the allies that any Indian or *pueblo* not taking part in the revolt would be destroyed; and that the chiefs of some of the *pueblos* had been unwilling to receive the message which they carried. Concerning the causes of the revolt they stated that they knew nothing, since they had not taken part in the councils of the old men of the northern *pueblos*, where the plans for the revolt were formulated.<sup>2</sup>

testified that when it was given to them it had only two knots. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that for every day that passed while the cord was in the process of circulation, one knot was taken out in order to avoid confusion in the matter of the date. This last testimony of Catua and Omtua also implies that a knot was not to be taken out by each *pueblo* in sign of obedience, for there were yet to be visited three Tanos *pueblos* and those of San Marcos and La Ciénega when Catua and Omtua started on their mission from Tesuque, with only two knots in the cord.

<sup>1</sup>*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 290.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, I.

The capture of Catua and Omtua created consternation among the other natives of Tesuque, and, believing that their plans were discovered, they resolved upon haste as being their only hope to successfully carry out the revolt. Accordingly, it was decided that the plans should be put into execution prematurely that night.<sup>1</sup> It took time to spread the news, but practically all the northern *pueblos*, including San Juan and Taos, were notified in time to begin the revolt at about daybreak of the morning of Saturday, August 10.<sup>2</sup> In the more distant *pueblos*, however, as Santo Domingo and Jemez, and those of Rio Abajo, the attack began later in the day, since it took the messengers from Tesuque longer to reach them.<sup>3</sup> It is plain, therefore, that the statement of Otermín that at one hour of the same day the revolt began all over the province, though essentially the fact, is not literally true.<sup>4</sup>

### III. THE OUTBREAK IN THE PUEBLOS

The actual outbreak of the revolt, as has been stated, took place on the morning of the 10th of August. It is my plan now to set forth this revolt as it actually occurred in the different *pueblos*. In many cases the evidence is far from being as full as is necessary for a clear understanding, while in other places there are conflicting statements not a little confusing. From all the available data bearing on each *pueblo*, however, an attempt has been made to put together the story for that particular place. The treatment of the subject has been from a purely geographical standpoint, beginning at the north, the hotbed of discontent, and proceeding south, though it has been found that in most cases the geographical divisions agree with the tribal.

<sup>1</sup>"Declarasion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres" in *Autos Pertenecientes*, 27. . . . "y auer presso Yndios Complices del pueblo de tesuque excutaron de ynpronisso aquella noche por parecerles eran ya descubiertos." . . .

<sup>2</sup>"Auto y declarasion del mro de camPo Franco gomez," in *Autos tocantes*, 4; "declarasion de Po hidalgo . . . Soldado," in *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>3</sup>Auto of García, in *Autos tocantes*, 17-19; Auto of García, in *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>4</sup>Auto of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, 86-87.

1. *At Taos and Picurís*

In the extreme northern part of the province of New Mexico were the two large and populous Tigua *pueblos* of Taos and Picurís (*Pecurics*). These towns were only three leagues apart, the former being situated in a fine valley, the latter upon a height. The native populations in 1680 numbered 2,000 and 3,000 souls respectively.<sup>1</sup> Being of the same tribal stock, these two *pueblos* were closely and harmoniously allied in all their movements. A previous attempt of the Taoans to free themselves from Spanish rule, which attempt had been harshly suppressed,<sup>2</sup> had doubtless taught them the strength and value of unity. In the organization of the present revolt the chiefs and medicine men of these *pueblos*, among whom El Saca of Taos and Don Luis Tupatú of Picurís<sup>3</sup> deserve especial mention, played an important part in the councils of the allies. It was to Taos, moreover, that Popé moved his base of operations, when driven from his own *pueblo* by the threats of the Secretary of Government and War, Francisco Xavier, who desired to punish him for his alleged continued witchcraft.<sup>4</sup> In an *estufa* of Taos also were the three infernal spirits who were supposed to be guiding the movements of Popé, and it was from here that the knotted cord, calling the Indians to action on a certain day, was despatched to the other *pueblos* of the province.<sup>5</sup>

The Spanish settlers in the vicinity of these *pueblos* were not altogether without warning that the Indians were planning a revolt, but at these places, as at the others where the news leaked out, there was confusion as to the date agreed upon; and whereas the revolt was not expected until the night of the 13th, it actually took place,<sup>6</sup> as has been seen, on the 10th of August. Early in the morning of that day the Taoans and their allies, the Apaches,

<sup>1</sup>Vetanceur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 101.

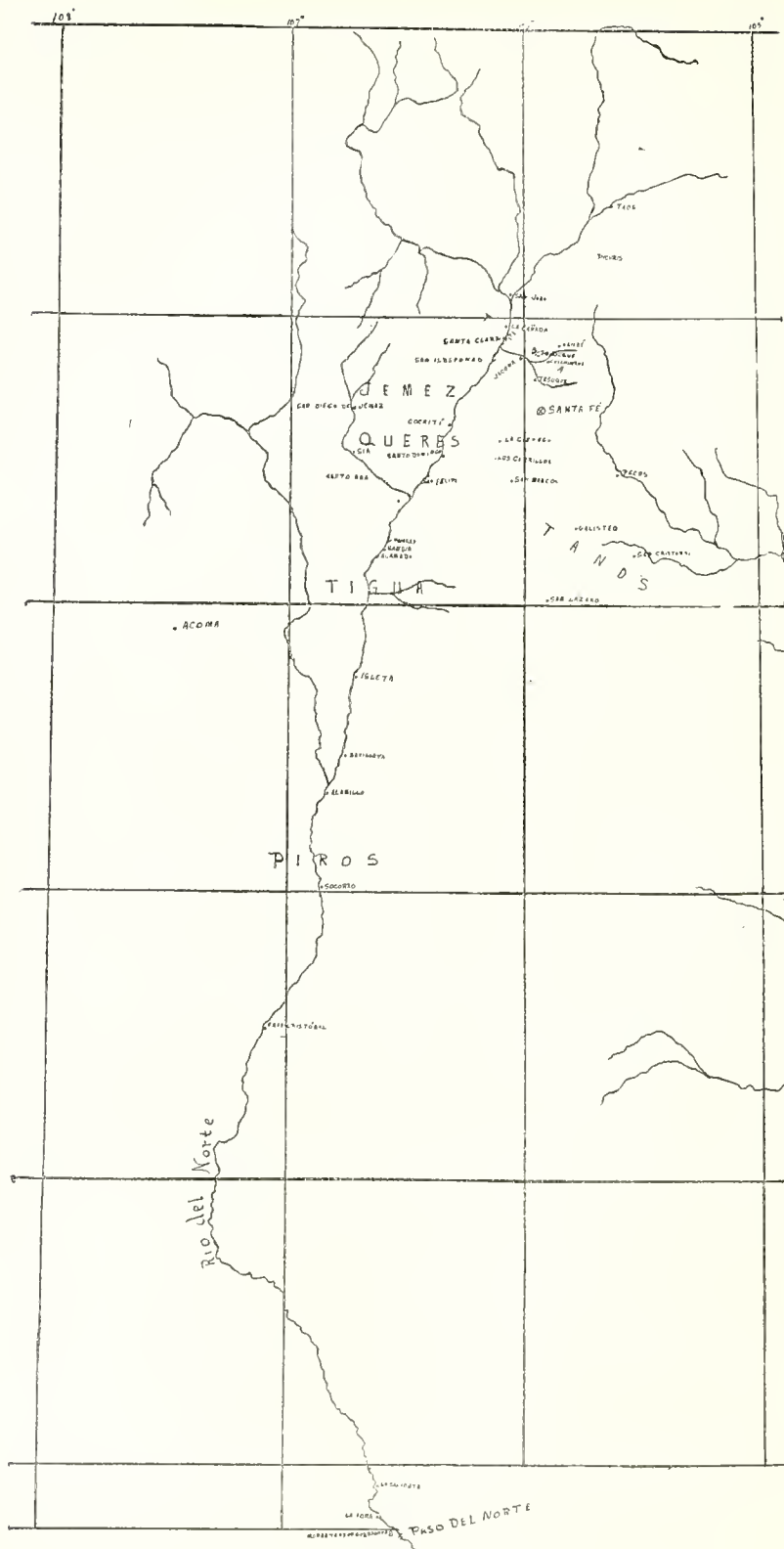
<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Auttos tocantes*, 73-75. There is no date given for this revolt.

<sup>3</sup>"Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 21 and 23.

<sup>4</sup>"Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 27.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 1; "Dilijencia Y declaracion—," *Ibid.*, 4.



Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

fell upon the settlers and missionaries of the valley, numbering seventy or more persons in all,<sup>1</sup> and, in the general slaughter that followed, only two escaped. These were the *sargentos mayores* Sebastian de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez, who, leaving their wives and children dead in the *pueblo*, by fighting and defending themselves as best they could, finally made their way through the devastated districts, and, on the seventh day after the general convocation, came in sight of the *villa*, which was then being besieged by a large force of the allied nations.<sup>2</sup> Being unable to enter, they continued on their way south, and on the 20th of the month joined García's division of refugees below Isleta.<sup>3</sup> At Picurís there was the same general slaughter of Spaniards and missionaries, there being no record in my sources of any that escaped from there, nor, in fact, of the number that were living there at that time. In both Taos and Picurís the churches were either burned or profaned, the fields and houses of the Spaniards plundered, and many other devastations committed by the Indians.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile the Taos and Picurís Indians, having meted out vengeance on the Spaniards in their midst, and having laid waste their fields and other property, joined the Tewa Indians and moved on to Santa Fé, which was already under siege by the Pecos and Tanos Indians. They reached it just in time to furnish much needed reinforcements for the allies.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. *The Revolt of the Tewa Nation*

(1) *Location, Population, and Revolutionary Activities of the Tewa Pueblos.*—Extending north and northwest from the *villa* of Santa Fé to the junction of Rio Grande and Rio Chama, forming a kind of rough oval, though with no well defined boundaries, was,

<sup>1</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 22-23. The documentary matter found in *Auttos tocantes*, folios 17-29, consists of miscellaneous papers drawn up by the lieutenant-governor, Alonso Garcia, and his subordinate officers in Rio Abajo, following the outbreak of the revolt there. All this matter, aggregating thirteen folios, was incorporated with the *Autos* and other official records of Otermín. None of the Garcia documents, however, have captions or marginal titles; it has, therefore, not been practical to cite them by title, but reference is made to them by their folio numbers.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of Garcia, in *Auttos tocantes*, 21-22.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>"*Autto* (de Otermín): Salieron el dia 22," in *Auttos tocantes*, 7-8.

<sup>5</sup>"*Auto y diligencia* (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 5-7.

and still is, the country of the Tewa Indians.<sup>1</sup> In 1680 the population of this nation amounted to about 2,200 people, distributed among six *pueblos* and two small settlements. Three of the *pueblos*, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan were on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Of these the largest was that of San Ildefonso, whose population was about eight hundred souls,<sup>2</sup> and, strange to say, it is the only *pueblo* of this nation whose part in the revolt receives no mention in the documentary sources used, except that one of its chiefs, Francisco, is mentioned as having been a colleague of Popé.<sup>3</sup> The other *pueblos*, Tesuque, Pojoaque (*Posouque*), and Nambé (*Nanvé*)—the population of the latter included that of the small outlying settlements of Jacona and Cuyamunque<sup>4</sup> (*Cuya Mungue*)—were all east of the river, and north of the *villa* of Santa Fé. With respect to its allies—the populous Jemez *pueblos* to the southwest, Pecos to the southeast, and Taos and Picuris to the north<sup>5</sup>—the Tewa nation, therefore, occupied a most strategic position for organizing and directing the revolutionary movements; and to its inhabitants must be given the chief credit not only for the organization of the revolt, but for its having been so successfully carried out, even when the discovery of the plans called for immediate and premature action on their part.

(2) *The Outbreak at Tesuque and Cuyamunque.*—About two leagues north of the *villa* of Santa Fé was the small *pueblo* of

<sup>1</sup>*Teguas* in the contemporary documents of that period, though written *Tewa*, or *Tehuas* by modern scholars.

<sup>2</sup>For the population of all these *pueblos*, see Vetaneur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 100-101.

<sup>3</sup>"Declarasion de Joseph Yndio Ladino—," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, 24.

<sup>4</sup>Vetaneur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 100.

<sup>5</sup>Vetaneur gives the population of the northern *pueblos* in 1680 as follows: Picuris, 3,000; Taos, 2,000; Jemez Nation, 5,000; Tewa Nation, 2,200. He does not estimate the population of Pecos, though Hodge (*Handbook of the American Indians*, Part 2, 325), places it at 2,000 for that year. The total of all these is over 14,000, and does not necessarily conflict with the estimate made by Otermin and others that the Christian revolvers of the entire province numbered 16,000, for it is hardly to be supposed that all the Pueblo Indians were Christianized. With such a force as these northern *pueblos* alone represented it is not surprising that many of the Indians in the other nations joined in the revolt, who would not otherwise have done so, especially when the invitation from these *pueblos* was combined with the threat of destruction in case they should refuse.

Tesuque, containing some two hundred inhabitants. Of all the Tewa *pueblos* none was more revolutionary than this, whose chiefs had long occupied a place in the councils of the allies.<sup>1</sup> It is largely to the credit of this *pueblo* that plans for an immediate revolt were determined upon when the two messengers, Catua and Omtua, were arrested in Tesuque on August 9. For, believing that the conspiracy was discovered, the Indians of Tesuque notified the other *pueblos* in the province in time to begin the revolt at practically the same hour as had been the original plan. Moreover, Tesuque itself seems to have been the *pueblo* to strike the first blow in the revolt, for as early as the evening of Friday the 9th—doubtless after the arrest of Catua and Omtua—a Spaniard named Cristóbal de Herrera was killed there, though no details are recorded for this incident.<sup>2</sup> The real character of their determination, however, is shown by their attack the next morning on Father Juan Pio and a soldier named Pedro Hidalgo. According to the statement of the latter, before daybreak on the morning of August 10, he started out from Santa Fé to Tesuque, accompanying Father Pio, who was going there to say mass.<sup>3</sup> On reaching that *pueblo* they found it entirely deserted. But, proceeding, they overtook the inhabitants of Tesuque and Cuyamunque,<sup>4</sup> about a quarter of a league from the former *pueblo*, where they found many of the Indians painted in war colors, and armed with bows, arrows, lances, and shields. Father Pio, when he had drawn near to them, boldly asked, "What does this mean, my children, are you crazy? Do not disquiet yourselves, for I will aid you and will die a thousand deaths for you." And passing quickly on to summon back to the *pueblo* the main body of the people, who were going toward the mountain, in order that he might say mass for them, he entered a ravine, while Hidalgo was stationed on a

<sup>1</sup>Auto of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 1; "auto y diligencia," *Ibid.*, 5-7.

<sup>2</sup>"Declarasion de Po hidalgo . . . Soldado." in *Auttos tocantes*, 2.

<sup>3</sup>According to Vetancur, Pio was the resident *padre* at Tesuque, but owing to the fact that only the day before Otermín had learned of the plot of the Indians, he had probably gone into the *villa* over night for safety, and was returning the next morning, accompanied by a soldier as a guard.

<sup>4</sup>Cuyamunque was a small settlement about a league north of Tesuque, and owing to the small number of its inhabitants they had doubtless joined with those of Tesuque for protection.

knoll to intercept any who might pass that way. While waiting there Hidalgo saw an Indian named El Obi come out of the ravine with a shield which the priest had carried, and also a little later he saw the interpreter of the *pueblo*, named Nicolás, painted with clay, and bespattered with blood, come out from the same place. These and others approached him, caught his horse by the bridle reins, and took away his sword and hat. Fearing injury at their hands, he seized his arquebus, put spurs to his horse, and was able to escape to the plain below, even dragging for some distance those who held on to him, while those from above shot many arrows at him, without effect. The priest did not come out, and Hidalgo judged, from what he had seen and experienced, that he must have been killed, and so hastened back to the *villa*, reaching there about seven o'clock in the morning.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *The Outbreak at Nambé and Pojoaque*.—Closely associated with the neighboring *pueblos*, and with their chiefs represented in the councils of the allies, were the two small *pueblos* of Nambé and Pojoaque. The latter was one of the smallest of the Tewa *pueblos*, though its population at that time cannot be determined, and it was situated less than a league west of Nambé. The *pueblo* of Nambé was about three leagues from Tesuque, and, including the nearby settlements of Jacona and Cuyamunque; had a population of six hundred Indians. The Indians of Cuyamunque, as has already been noted, joined the Tesuque Indians in the revolt, and, though no mention is made of the fact, it is probable that the small number at the settlement of Jacona joined those of the *pueblo* of Nambé, doubtless feeling insecure at such a time of unrest.

In both Nambé and Pojoaque (for which the available records are very meagre), the revolt began at about the same time as in the other *pueblos*. When the *maestro de campo*, Francisco Gomez, who was despatched by Otermín with a squad of soldiers to reconnoiter the Tewa *pueblos*, returned to the *villa* on August 12, he reported among the dead at Nambé, Fray Tomás de Torres, Sebastian de Torres and his wife, and others whose names he did not give. At the same time he found that in the *pueblo* of Pojoaque the Indians had killed Captain Francisco Ximenes and

<sup>1</sup>"Declarasion de Po hidalgo . . . Soldado," in *Auttos tocantes*, 2.

his family, and also Don Joseph de Goitia; while, among others, Doña Pertonilla de Salas and her eight or ten children were missing.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *The Outbreak at Santa Clara and San Juan.*—Situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande, only a few leagues apart, were the *pueblos* of Santa Clara and San Juan, while nearby was the Spanish settlement of La Cañada.<sup>2</sup> These two *pueblas* contained in 1680 a population of three hundred Indians each, and both were religious *visitas* of San Ildefonso, the large *pueblo* of their nation further south. In the revolt both Santa Clara and San Juan took a leading part, it being at the latter *pueblo* that the first plans were formulated by Popé and the other northern chiefs, before Popé was driven from there to Taos by the persecutions of Francisco Xavier. But, notwithstanding the active part played by these *pueblos* both before the revolt and afterward, the story of the outbreak as it actually occurred in them is very incomplete, and the few facts that are recorded must not be taken as a complete narrative of the events at those places. It is merely the best possible with the sources available.

The only recorded incidents of the uprising in Santa Clara took place about dawn on the morning of Saturday, the 10th of August, when the Indians of that *pueblo* attacked two soldiers, Marcos Ramos and Felipe López, who were in an escort with six other men led by Captain Francisco de Anaya. The two soldiers in question were slain in the *pueblo*, while the others, who were guarding a herd of horses on the outside, were able to escape,<sup>3</sup> though the wife and children of Anaya were carried off by the Indians, while a youth named Bartolomé Griego was later reported as having been killed.<sup>4</sup>

Of the outbreak at San Juan no specific details are given, and the only martyr priest mentioned as having met his fate there was

<sup>1</sup>"Auto y declarasion del mro de camPo gomez," in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>2</sup>The settlement of Spaniards known as La Cañada (see, "Auto de Otermin," in *Auttos tocantes*, 5; Autos of García, his *alcaldes* and others, *Ibid.*, 23) was doubtless near, or identical with, the old Tewa *pueblo* known as Santa Cruz de La Cañada, which is not mentioned by Vetancur, but which Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, 458) says was abandoned by the Indians about 1680.

<sup>3</sup>"Dilijencia Y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>4</sup>"Auto y declarasion del mro de camPo Franco gomez" . . ., in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

Father Juan de Morales;<sup>1</sup> yet we may judge that the scene there was of the same character as that at Santa Clara.

Enough has already been said to show that it was the aim of the Indians to utterly destroy all, and at San Juan and the other Tewa *pueblos* there was practically nothing to obstruct the vengeance of the natives as it ran its full course. In the whole nation more than thirty Spaniards were known to have been killed, while a number of others were carried off and never heard of again;<sup>2</sup> and there as elsewhere the churches were profaned, the houses and *haciendas* robbed, and many other devastations committed.

(5) *The Escape of the Spaniards at La Cañada.*—Of the number of Spaniards living among the Tewa Indians in 1680 no record is given, nor is there any record of any having escaped except those who were able to assemble at La Cañada. Following the outbreak of the revolt the *alcalde mayor* of that jurisdiction, Luis de Quintana, gathered as many of the settlers as possible at his house, where they prepared to defend themselves. From there on August 10 they sent news of the revolt of the Tewa Indians to Otermín by two messengers from Taos, who halted at La Cañada for a short while on their way to the *villa*, having been despatched thither by the *alcalde mayor* of that *pueblo* with further news of the revolt and conspiracy of the Indians.<sup>3</sup> Davis<sup>4</sup> says that between the 10th and 13th of August the Indians attacked La Cañada, massacred the inhabitants, and drove off the stock, while Bancroft<sup>5</sup> says that such was probably the case. Otermín, however, settles this question by stating that all these people were able to reach the *villa* on August 13th.<sup>6</sup> A few days after this, the two survivors of Taos, Sebastian de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez passed La Cañada on their flight to the south, but they found the whole district entirely depopulated and in ruins.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>"Dilijencia Y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>4</sup>*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 291.

<sup>5</sup>*Arizona and New Mexico*, 179.

<sup>6</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 5; *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>7</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 23.

(6) *Defensive and Offensive Measures of the Tewa Indians.*—Meanwhile all the inhabitants of the Tewa *pueblos* from Tesuque to San Juan, having struck the decisive blow for their freedom in their respective *pueblos*, now united in two divisions, one in the *pueblo* of Santa Clara, and the other in the Sierra del Arroyo de Tesuque, where they fortified themselves.<sup>1</sup> With those at Santa Clara were gathered many of the rebels of the Jemez nation. In the squares of the *pueblo* they collected the property of the dead Spaniards, including a great many cattle, executing, as was said by the erstwhile rulers, all such atrocities with unparalleled shamelessness.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, guards were stationed along the roads in order to intercept any attempting to escape, and, in this way, every avenue leading to the *villa* was blocked.<sup>3</sup> Having thus completely rid themselves of the Spaniards living in their midst, and having robbed their fields and homes, all the Tewa warriors united with those of Taos and Picurís, and joined in the siege of Santa Fé.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. *The Revolt of the Tanos Pueblos, and of San Marcos, La Ciénega, and Pecos*

(1) *Location, Population, and Racial Affiliations of these Pueblos.*—Directly south of the *villa* of Santa Fé was the country of the Tanos nation, containing the three *pueblos* of Galisteo, San Cristóbal, and San Lázaro. Southwest of the *villa*, and bordering on the district of the Queres *pueblos*, were the two *pueblos* of San Marcos and La Ciénega, containing a mixed population of Tanos and Queres Indians,<sup>5</sup> while seven leagues southeast of the *villa*

<sup>1</sup>"Auto y declaracion del mro camPo Franco gomez" . . ., in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>2</sup>"Dilijencia y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>3</sup>"Auto y declaracion del mro camPo Franco gomez" . . ., in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>4</sup>"Auto y diligencia," in *Auttos tocantes*, 5-7.

<sup>5</sup>In regard to the tribal affiliations of these two *pueblos* there are some grounds for dispute. According to Vetancur (*Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 102-103), who was contemporary with the revolt, the *pueblo* of San Marcos contained in 1680 a population of six hundred Queres Indians. Bandelier (quoted by Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, 448), one of the best informed scholars on the ethnology of the New Mexican Indians, on the other hand states that the original inhabitants were Tanos, though there may have been some Queres

was the large and influential *pueblo* of Pecos. It is interesting to note that while Pecos took a very active part with the Tewa and other northern *pueblos* in the organization of the revolt, nevertheless, after the outbreak, the Pecos warriors co-operated with those of Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega, all of which were closely connected from a geographic and political standpoint, though racially, as has just been shown, there was no close connection. Of the Tanos *pueblos* Galisteo was the largest,<sup>1</sup> containing a population of eight hundred Indians, though Hodge<sup>2</sup> thinks this number included the inhabitants of San Cristóbal, which was a *visita* of Galisteo. Of the other *pueblos* in this group, with the exception of Pecos, San Marcos was the most important, having a native population of six hundred. La Ciénega and San Lázaro were its *visitas*. Concerning Pecos in 1680 little can be learned, though, according to Hodge,<sup>3</sup> its population at that time was approximately two thousand.<sup>4</sup> Being near the Tanos *pueblos*, Pecos doubtless exerted a strong influence over them, for in Coronado's

among them. From the contemporary documents bearing on the revolt which were used in the preparation of his paper, I conclude that the natives of San Marcos were not considered by the Tanos Indians themselves as members of their tribe. For instance, in the "declaracion de Porgarcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, 10-11, is found the following phrase: "*dhos Yndios de todos los pueblos de los tagnos pecos y Sn marcos.*" This would clearly imply that San Marcos was not included among "*todos los pueblos de los tagnos*," even if Pecos, which we know was a Jemez *pueblo*, was not mentioned.

The same confusion is true also of La Ciénega. Modern scholars, as Hodge and Bandelier (see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 1, 299-300), differ somewhat in regard to the identity of its inhabitants, Hodge holding that while formerly occupied by Tanos Indians La Ciénega apparently contained some Queres Indians, while Bandelier concludes that the *pueblo* was a Tanos village. The documentary evidence, however, also implies that La Ciénega was not a Tanos village, and at the same time supports the above conclusion in regard to San Marcos, as the following phrases from the *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, 1, will show: "*los Yndios govrns. y Capitanes de los pueblos de los tagnos San Marcos y la cienega*," and "*por los gobernadores y capitanes de tagnos Sn. marcos y la cienega.*" On the same grounds as above in regard to Pecos and San Marcos, it seems reasonable that if either San Marcos or La Ciénega had been Tanos *pueblos* they would not have received special comment apart from "*todos los pueblos de los tagnos.*"

<sup>1</sup>For the population of all these *pueblos* in 1680, see Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 102-103.

<sup>2</sup>*Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, 325.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>According to Benavides, "Memorial," translated in *Land of Sunshine*, XIII, 286, its population in 1630 was 2,000 also.

time it was the boast of this *pueblo* that it had never been conquered, and yet could conquer any of its neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Hostility of the Tanos Chiefs, and the Friendly Attitude of the Natives toward the Revolt.*—Perhaps the most noteworthy point in connection with the revolt of these Indians is that, although the people as a whole seem to have been in a very revolutionary attitude, their chiefs were hostile to, and refused co-operation in, the execution of the plans of the allies. Notwithstanding that the captains of the Tanos had treated of rebellion for more than twelve years,<sup>2</sup> yet when Catua and Omtua, the Indian ambassadors from Tesuque, came to announce the plans that had been agreed upon, they found the chiefs of the Tanos, to all of whom they spoke,<sup>3</sup> none too enthusiastic about the revolt, while the Indians of San Cristóbal were unwilling to give assent to the message which they brought, calling as it did for a general revolt.<sup>4</sup> As has been stated, the real date of the planned revolt was doubtless withheld by Catua and Omtua when they realized the opposition among the leading men. The chiefs at San Cristóbal at once advised those of the other *pueblos* of their unwillingness to join in the rebellion,<sup>5</sup> and on the 9th of August the governors and captains of the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega Indians appeared in the *villa* to give an account of the treason, saying that it was to be put into execution on the night of the 13th.<sup>6</sup> The same opposition must have been met among the chiefs of Pecos at about the same time, for on the very day that news came to Otermín from Fray Juan Bernal at Galisteo of the plans as told by the Tanos chiefs, he also received a similar report from Fray Fernando de Velasco, the minister guardian at Pecos.<sup>7</sup>

The questions now arise, why did the chiefs of the Tanos and neighboring *pueblos* announce to Otermín that the day set for the

<sup>1</sup>"Translation of the Narrative of Cantañeda" by Winship, in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, part 2, 520.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, 13.

<sup>3</sup>"Declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, 11.

<sup>4</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, 1.

<sup>5</sup>"Declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, 11.

<sup>6</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, 1.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

revolt was the 13th, when as a matter of fact it was executed on the morning of the 10th, and why did the inhabitants of these *pueblos* take part in the revolt in spite of the unwillingness of their chiefs to do so? The explanation of the first of these points has already been attempted (see page 103, note 4) in another connection, and the following explanation of the second, while largely inferential, seems reasonable. Since the Tanos *pueblos* and their neighbors did take an active part in the revolt, it is probable that the main body of the people were desirous of joining the allies from the very first, though their chiefs were not, and accordingly, when they departed for Santa Fé to divulge the plans to Otermín, the main body of the people, either because they were really desirous of revolting, or through fear of the threat which Catua and Omtua brought them from the allies to the effect that the Indian or *pueblo* which did not join in the revolt would be destroyed,<sup>1</sup> or for some other reason, took matters into their own hands, fell into line with the other revolters throughout the whole province, and, as will be seen, carried out their part of the plans in no half-hearted way.

(3) *The Outbreak at Galisteo*.—Following the news that the Indians of the province were planning a general convocation, a number of Spaniards living among the Tanos Indians assembled at the *pueblo* of Galisteo on August 9 in anticipation of any possible danger. But their number and strength were insignificant compared with that of the rebel natives, and as a result not one escaped.<sup>2</sup> The missionaries are the first mentioned among those slain,<sup>3</sup> Father Antonio and Fray Domingo de Bera being killed

<sup>1</sup>"Declaracion de Po garcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, 11.

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 32-33.

<sup>3</sup>For the events of the revolt at Galisteo we are dependent almost entirely upon the testimony of a Christian Indian, named Pedro García. This Indian according to his own statement was working in the garden of his master, Joseph Nieto, in whose house he had been raised, when he was approached on the day of the revolt by Bartolomé Cantor, an Indian chief of Galisteo, who called out to him excitedly and asked him what he was doing and if he did not know that the Indians wished to kill the missionaries and Spaniards, and were even planning to do so. Later having learned of the atrocities committed by those of his nation, being a loyal Christian, and fearing to stay among his people, because he had not taken part in the revolt, García decided to try to escape with his wife and an orphan girl to where the Spaniards were. On August 24, as Otermín's division was proceeding along the Rio Grande near the

in the *pueblo*, while in a field in sight of it a similar fate befell Fray Fernando de Velaseo and Fray Manuel Tinoco, minister guardians of Pecos and San Marcos, who were doubtless going to Galisteo to determine upon some action for the expected revolt of August 13. Next the Indians took possession of the cattle and property of the convent, and then falling upon the Spaniards, killed Captain Joseph Nieto, Juan de Leiva, Nicolás de Leiva, their wives and sons, robbed at the same time their *haciendas*, and later carried off three of the women. These three women, whom Pedro García designated as his mistresses<sup>1</sup> (*amas*), were named Lucía, María, and Juana, and they were held in captivity until after the siege of Santa Fé. In this siege the losses of the Tanos were so heavy in killed and wounded that in revenge the warriors who returned slew these captives, and likewise another girl, named Dorotea, the daughter of the *maestro de campo*, Pedro de Leiva.

(4) *The Revolt in the Other Pueblos*.—All that can be learned from the documents of the revolt at the other *pueblos* in this group is that after the uprising was agreed upon it was the aim of the Indians to kill all the Spaniards and missionaries among them, and, to encourage their warriors in this work, they were promised one woman for every Spaniard killed. This does not mean, as might be inferred, that they promised Spanish women for wives. Having made this offer, they ordered the rosaries to be taken off and burned,<sup>2</sup> after which the massacres began. At Pecos, where the chiefs had planned for the revolt with the Tewa, Taos, Picurís, and Jemez Indians for a long time,<sup>3</sup> the only death specifically reported was that of Fray Juan de Pedrosa,<sup>4</sup> though none are mentioned as having escaped, and the outrages perpe-

northern limits of Rio Abajo, García himself, through the aid of the rear guard of the retreating army, joined the Spaniards, though the two women with him were captured by the revolters. (See: "Auto de marcha y paraxe," in *Auttos tocantes*, 10; "declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Ibid.*, 11.)

<sup>1</sup>This would imply that they were the daughters of Joseph Leiva, whom García speaks of as his master.

<sup>2</sup>"Declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Auttos tocantes*, 11.

<sup>3</sup>"Declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Auttos tocantes*, 12-13.

<sup>4</sup>"Auto y diligencia (de Otermín)." in *Auttos tocantes*, 5-7.

trated there, as at many of the other *pueblos*, must simply be taken for granted.

(5) *The Escape of the Spaniards at Los Cerrillos*.—The number of Spaniards in the Tanos and neighboring districts in 1680 is not recorded, though if any escaped the revolt of that year they were doubtless among the refugees at Los Cerrillos.<sup>1</sup> These people, mentioned as being "from the *estancias* and *haciendas* of Los Serrillos," and whose numbers are not given, were defending themselves in the house of the *sarjento mayor*, Vernabe Marquez, when on the 12th of August their situation became critical, and they sent notice of their condition to the Governor, asking that aid be furnished them in order that they might be able to join him in Santa Fé.<sup>2</sup> Otermín despatched the necessary aid to them that night, and they and the Spaniards at La Cañada are the only two bodies of refugees that are mentioned by Otermín as being able to join him in the *villa* after the outbreak of August 10.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. *The Revolt of the Queres and Jemez Indians*

(1) *Location and Population of their Pueblos*.—Occupying a central position in the northern Rio Grande valley and extending from the *pueblo* of Santo Domingo on the east to the Jemez River on the west, and from the junction of that river with the Rio Grande in the south to the Tewa nation in the north was the country of the Queres and Jemez Indians, which for administrative purposes the Spaniards organized into one jurisdiction, known as "La Jurisdiccion de Yndios Xemes y Queres."<sup>4</sup> Of the Queres *pueblos* Coehití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe were situated on the Rio Grande; Santa Ana and Sia, two other small Queres

<sup>1</sup>According to Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 214, a settlement of Los Cerrillos (spelled Los Serrillos in the contemporary documents) is mentioned in the records as early as 1695, though he does not locate it. The present Los Cerrillos is a few miles west of the *pueblo* of San Marcos, while the *sitio* of the Los Cerrillos grant, the date of which is not given, is only a few miles south of La Ciénega. The documents bearing on the revolt of 1680 do not locate it; in fact they mention it only twice. I judge that it was somewhere between San Marcos and La Ciénega. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that some of the refugees there were inhabitants of the Tanos and neighboring districts.

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 5.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>4</sup>*Autos tocantes*, 27.

*pueblos* were on the north bank of the lower Rio Jemez; while sixty miles west of the Rio Grande settlements was another large *pueblo* of that tribe, called Acoma. Cochití, the most northern of the valley *pueblos*, was on the west bank of the Rio Grande, and contained in 1680 a population of three hundred natives.<sup>1</sup> Three leagues south, though on the opposite bank of the river, was the *pueblo* of Santo Domingo, containing a population of one hundred and fifty Indians. Here was located one of the oldest and best convents in the province. Two leagues south of Santo Domingo was the *pueblo* of San Felipe,<sup>2</sup> the population of which, including that of the small *pueblo* of Santa Ana was six hundred. The population of Sia cannot be determined, while Acoma, which contained about fifteen hundred Indians, and which was the largest of all the Kerescan *pueblos*, was too far removed from the sphere of activity of the valley *pueblos* to exert much, if any, influence upon them. It would thus be safe to say that the total population of the Queres taking an active part in the revolt of 1680 was approximately twelve hundred.

Concerning the Jemez *pueblos*, mention has already been made of the fact that Pecos was of that nation, and the part which it took in the affairs of 1680 and in the events leading up to them has been noticed. The only other large Jemez *pueblo* was that of San Diego de Jemez, the population of which, including that of five smaller *pueblos*, was about five thousand. These Indians according to Hodge abandoned their *pueblos* after the introduction by the Spaniards of improved methods of irrigation, since in that period their chief enemy, the Navajos, were not troublesome, and the *pueblos* were not needed for defense, while smaller settlements nearer their irrigated fields were more suitable.

(2) *The Revolt at Cochití and San Felipe.*—For the events of the revolt in the *pueblo* of Cochití practically nothing is known.

<sup>1</sup>For the population and other data for these *pueblos* in 1680, see Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 100-102.

<sup>2</sup>According to Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 172), San Felipe was apparently on the east bank of the river in 1680. This is also implied in the sources at my disposal, as Otermín makes mention of his division having visited San Felipe on its retreat from Santa Fé, which would have been practically impossible, on account of the high water in the river at that time, and altogether useless, had the *pueblo* been on the west bank. Hodge and others, however, locate the *pueblo* on the west bank. (See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, 432.)

No mention whatever is made of any Spaniards having visited it after the general outbreak and prior to their departure from the province, nor was there any Indian testimony taken that throws any light on the events attending the revolt there, except the statement of an Indian ambassador at the *pueblo* of Jemez on August 10 to the effect that all the Spaniards at Cochití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe had been killed.<sup>1</sup>

For the outbreak at San Felipe the only other contemporary reference is the statement of Otermín that when passed by him on his retreat down the river, that *pueblo* was found deserted.<sup>2</sup> The testimony of two natives of San Felipe who were captured the next year by Otermín, however, is interesting not only in regard to the events as they occurred there, but also for the light that it throws on the whole situation. These two Indians, who were brothers, and whose names were Juan and Francisco Lorenzo, were living at the time of the revolt on a small ranch near the *pueblo* of San Felipe. According to their testimony, on Saturday, "the glorious day of San Lorenzo," they both went peaceably and as Christians to the *pueblo* to hear the *padre* say mass. But they were surprised on reaching San Felipe to be seized and held as prisoners in the plaza, while a number of the natives set out for Santo Domingo to kill, as was told them, the *alcalde mayor*, the missionaries, and the rest of the people who might be there, as indeed they did. And that same evening, near prayer time, there arrived at the *pueblo* their elder brother named Bartolomé Nar-anjo, whom the Indians approached and asked if he would be on their side in helping to kill all the Spaniards and missionaries, to which their brother replied: "You are crazy in what you do, and I do not wish to join you because it is not right." Thereupon the other Indians seized him and "treacherously" killed him. And these Indians stated further that the cause of the revolt as they heard it was that Francisco Xavier, and the *sarjentos mayores* Luis de Quintana and Diego López would not let them alone, and burned their *estufas*, and that the order to revolt came to San

<sup>1</sup>Auto of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 18.

<sup>2</sup>It is an interesting fact that immediately after the revolt a number of *pueblos*, as San Felipe, Tesuque, Sandia, and others were deserted by the natives, who betook themselves through fear to the mountains and *mesas*, where at a safe distance they made jeer of the Spaniards as they proceeded on their retreat.

Felipe from the *pueblos* of the Tewa, having been planned, as was generally said by a native of San Juan, named Popé.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *The Revolt at Santo Domingo*.—For Santo Domingo and the outlying districts the records are fuller, and quite a vivid picture of the revolt as it occurred there can be drawn. In the *pueblo* itself the massacre began as elsewhere on August 10.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be determined who were the first to fall there, though the deaths of the Reverend Fathers Juan de Talaban, Antonio de Lorenzana, the minister guardian of the convent, and Joseph Montes de Oca are first mentioned.<sup>3</sup> These three fathers were in the convent when attacked by the Indians, and from there, where were afterwards found signs of resistance on their part, they were dragged to the nearby church. Here all three were piled in a heap, and their decaying bodies were found two weeks later by the straggling army of refugees on its retreat from Santa Fé. Doubtless by thus piling the dead bodies of the missionaries before the Christian altars, which for eighty years had symbolized the hated domination of an unknown religion, the Indian idea of vengeance found its fullest expression. On the other hand, it is doubtful if there could have been for the *padres* a sweeter death, a grander sepulchre, or a crown of martyrdom quite so coveted or so glorious as that which they earned for themselves while defending the Holy Faith in the convent of Santo Domingo on San Lorenzo day.

But the slaughter was not confined to the missionaries alone, and soon a similar fate befell the other Spaniards of the *pueblo*, the bodies of the men later being thrown behind the church.<sup>4</sup> Of those who fell there are mentioned the names of the *sarjento mayor*, Andres de Peralta, Chief Justice and Captain of War of the *pueblo*, the *alférez* Esteban Barcía and Nicolás López, who were commanding the small group of the besieged; and Joseph de Guadarrama and wife. The Indians were led in their attack on these by an interpreter of the *pueblo* named Alonzo Catiti,<sup>5</sup> who

<sup>1</sup>"Declaracion de Juo lorenzo y franco lorenzo hermas," in *Autos Perennecientes*, 31.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, 17.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>"*Auto de marcha y paraxe*," in *Autos tocantes*, 10.

<sup>5</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, 17.

came to exercise a great deal of authority and power after the revolt.<sup>1</sup>

In the outlying districts around Santo Domingo the devastations and atrocities committed were typical of those in other parts of the province. Between that *pueblo* and San Felipe, a distance of two leagues, the bodies of six dead men were left in the road.<sup>2</sup> Below San Felipe a little more than two leagues, at the *estancia* of the *sarjento mayor* Cristóbal de Anaya, were afterwards found the naked bodies of twelve persons, including Anaya himself, his wife, Doña Leonor de Mendosa, two soldier sons, and three children. A quarter of a league further on, the house of Pedro de Cuellar was sacked and destroyed; and still a little distance further, the house of Captain Augustin de Carbajal was robbed. Here Carbajal, his wife, Doña Damiana Dominges de Mendosa, a daughter, and another woman were killed, and their stripped bodies left in the open house.<sup>3</sup> All these murders were committed on Sunday, the day following the massacre in the *pueblo* of Santo Domingo,<sup>4</sup> and the fact that as many as twelve persons had assembled at one house indicates that they had done so in the futile attempt to protect themselves after having learned of the movements and plans of the Indians.

(4) *The Revolt at the Jemez Pueblos, and at Sia and Santa Ana.*—For the events of the revolt at the Jemez *pueblos* and at the Queres *pueblos* of Sia and Santa Ana we have the testimony of Louis de Granillo, *alcalde mayor* and captain of war of "La Jurisdiccion de Yndios Xemes y Queres," who with several other soldiers and one missionary escaped from the *pueblo* of San Diego de Jemez, being aided in so doing by the Lieutenant-General of Rio Abajo, Alonso García, who also made two *autos* summarizing the events of the revolt in those places. According to the testimony of Granillo, he was advised by an Indian of the *pueblo* of Jemez, named Lorenzo Musa, that all the natives of the province desired

<sup>1</sup>"Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 23.

<sup>2</sup>"Notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14-15.

<sup>3</sup>"Auto de marcha y paraxe," in *Auttos tocantes*, 10; "notificasion y Prision," *Ibid.*, 14-15; *Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 17-18.

<sup>4</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 17.

to revolt, and had set the night of August 10 to execute it.<sup>1</sup> About mid-day of the 10th of August an ambassador<sup>2</sup> of the enemy rode up to the *pueblo* singing of victory and announcing to the Indians there that already the Governor and all the Spaniards, including the missionaries, women, and children from Taos to Santo Domingo were dead; that their houses and fields had all been robbed; that only the Rio Abajo country was yet to be devastated; and that even that district was at that very moment being sacked by the Indians.<sup>3</sup> "Since none of the Spaniards will remain alive," he said, "because the number of their enemies, composed of the heathen Apaches, as well as the Christian Indians, is greater, seize, therefore, your arms and kill the Spaniards and friars who are here."<sup>4</sup> The brief and terse statement of Granillo, "and this in fact the said Jemez Indians did,"<sup>5</sup> suggests all too plainly with what receptiveness the message was received by these people who for a number of years had longed and planned to revolt.<sup>6</sup>

In view of the manifest danger in which they were, leaving one of the missionaries dead in the *pueblo*,<sup>7</sup> Granillo, in company with the father preacher, Fray Francisco Muñoz, and three<sup>8</sup> other soldiers attempted to escape. The Indians, however, who had already

<sup>1</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 18. Musa was evidently confused in his dates, for as has been seen the outbreak was planned for August 11.

<sup>2</sup>This was doubtless, the bearer of the news sent out from Tesuque the evening before, following the arrest of Catua and Omtua in that *pueblo*.

<sup>3</sup>This statement of the messenger in regard to the death of the Governor and all the people of the northern districts was of course untrue. It is interesting, however, in showing the confidence which the Indians had in the undertaking, for according to his own statement, this Indian believed that the northern *pueblos* had by that time already carried out their part of the general plans, and that those in Rio Abajo, to whom the message had come later, were also fulfilling their part.

<sup>4</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 27.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>"Declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Auttos tocantes*, 13.

<sup>7</sup>"Notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14.

<sup>8</sup>According to the statement of García (notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14) there was only one soldier, named Joaquin de Bonilla, with Granillo at the time that García met him, though in a subsequent *auto* (*Auttos tocantes*, page 17) he says there were three soldiers. This latter statement of García's agrees with Granillo's own account (*Ibid.*, 27).

announced their intention to kill them,<sup>1</sup> on seeing them mount their horses, attacked them and with the whole community of the *pueblo* followed, fighting them as they fled across the fields,<sup>2</sup> for a distance of more than two leagues,<sup>3</sup> when, as Granillo stated it, God was pleased that they should meet the Lieutenant-General, Alonso García, with four soldiers,<sup>4</sup> to whom a despatch had previously been sent for aid.<sup>5</sup> It was past midnight on the night of August 10 when García met Granillo and his party with the religious guardian, Fray Muñoz, fleeing in advance on horseback.<sup>6</sup> And the Indians, seeing the aid which the *alcalde* thus received, ceased fighting and following them,<sup>7</sup> and the party made its way to the *pueblo* of Sia.

At Sia they found the *padre* Nicolás Hurtado with three Spaniards defending themselves in the strongest part of the convent, with the beasts locked in with them. And "God was pleased" that they should escape with García and Granillo, though when the Indians noticed that they were going out, with great shouts and the ringing of bells, "they attempted to execute their treason on the said religious and Spaniards." Thus it was with much danger that the entire party was able to make its way to the *pueblo* of Santa Ana, which was found deserted by men, though the women there said with much impudence that their husbands had gone to kill all the Spaniards. Leaving this place, the refugees proceeded to the *pueblo* of Sandia in the Rio Abajo country.<sup>8</sup>

(5) *The Revolt at Acoma*.—Acoma played no important part

<sup>1</sup>"Notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 17.

<sup>3</sup>García says (*Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 17) that the Indians of Jemez followed them as far as the *pueblo* of Sia. Granillo (*Auttos tocantes*, 27) says that they followed them more than two leagues.

<sup>4</sup>García upon the receipt of Granillo's call for help on August 10 had started from Rio Abajo with eight soldiers (see "notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14) though only four are mentioned as being with him when Granillo was met. (See *Auto* of García, *Ibid.*, 17.) It is probable that the other four had gone on another rescue expedition in a different direction. (See *Auttos tocantes*, 28.)

<sup>5</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 27.

<sup>6</sup>"Notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14.

<sup>7</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 27. This statement does not agree with García's statement that the Jemez Indians followed them to the *pueblo* of Sia. (See *Auto* of García, in *Ibid.*, 17.)

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

in the events as related in the Spanish documents of 1680, since it was too far away to successfully co-operate with the valley *pueblos*. Otermín, however, learned from the Indian besiegers of Santa Fé that all the Spaniards there were dead.<sup>1</sup> Vetancur says the *padre* there in 1680 was Father Lucas Maldonado.<sup>2</sup>

(6) *The Number of Spaniards Escaping from these Pueblos.*—As to the number of Spaniards who escaped from this jurisdiction, it is almost impossible to make an estimate. The only ones mentioned are those who were able to do so through the aid of García and Granillo, who spent the whole night of August 10 after their meeting, and the next day, in assisting refugees to a place of safety, though their activities were confined chiefly to the district of Rio Abajo.<sup>3</sup> It is very improbable, therefore, that many of the Spaniards who assembled at Isleta were settlers living outside of the Rio Abajo jurisdiction.

#### 5. *The Revolt of the Tigua Pueblos of Rio Abajo*

(1) *Location and Population of these Pueblos.*—In 1680 the Tigua Indians were divided into two geographic groups, one occupying, as has already been noted, the *pueblos* of Taos and Picurís, the most northerly of the New Mexican *pueblos*, and the other located further south on the Rio Grande, and occupying the *pueblos* of Puaray, Sandia, Alameda, and Isleta. The largest of these latter *pueblos* was Sandia, with three thousand inhabitants, while only one league north was the small *pueblo* of Puaray with two hundred Indians, and about the same distance south was the *pueblo* of Alameda, with about three hundred inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> Eight leagues south of Alameda, where a small stream, with the Rio Grande, enclosed a fertile tract containing seven Spanish *ranchos*, was the *pueblo* and Spanish convent of Isleta, containing a native population of two thousand Indians. It was in this latter *pueblo*, as we shall see, that the Spanish inhabitants of Rio Abajo assembled after the revolt under the Lieutenant-General, Alonzo García, and

<sup>1</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 32-33.

<sup>2</sup>Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 101.

<sup>3</sup>*Autos tocantes*, 28.

<sup>4</sup>Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 99.

later went out from that place, marching toward Mexico, thinking all the other Spaniards of the province were dead.

(2) *The Outbreak at Puaray, Sandia, and Alameda.*—In the *pueblos* of Puaray, Sandia, and Alameda, all of which had been planning a revolt for a long time,<sup>1</sup> and in the districts surrounding these *pueblos*, the atrocities and outrages committed were of the same fierce and unrelenting character as elsewhere, though the details for the outbreak in them were unfortunately omitted by García when he made *autos* summarizing the revolt in Rio Abajo. In connection with the general facts regarding the revolt of these *pueblos*, mention has already been made of the small force of refugees from Jemez and Sia having escaped from “La Jurisdiccion de Yndio Xemes y Queres,” to Sandia in Rio Abajo, being aided in doing so by Alonzo García, to whom an appeal for aid had been previously despatched.<sup>2</sup> Arriving at that *pueblo* García and his small body of refugees found that in his absence the news of the revolt had been published among the Tigua Indians, and that all the inhabitants of Puaray, Alameda, and Sandia were under arms, having already killed many of the inhabitants of the valley, and robbed their *estancias* of horses, cattle, and other property, all of which they were collecting in the latter *pueblo*.<sup>3</sup> These atrocities were begun in the afternoon of August 10, doubtless as soon as news of the premature outbreak was received from Tesuque, and were continued with unabated fury, until late the next day, at which time all the settlers who had not been killed had taken refuge in the *pueblo* of Isleta farther south.

(3) *The Escape of the Spaniards to Isleta, and the Numbers Killed in Rio Abajo.*—Immediately upon arriving at Sandia on the night of August 10, and finding that the Indians of Rio Abajo were in full revolt as elsewhere, García and his small force, assisted by the two religious in their company, now formed themselves into rescue parties and that night and the following day explored all of the nearby country, as far north as Santo Do-

<sup>1</sup>“Declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino,” in *Auttos tocantes*, 12.

<sup>2</sup>Granillo was informed at Jemez by the Indians that Otermín and all the Spaniards of the province except the inhabitants of Rio Abajo were dead, which accounts for his having appealed to García, when otherwise he would naturally have appealed to Otermín at Santa Fé.

<sup>3</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 28.

mingo,<sup>1</sup> collecting the men, women, and children whom they found alive. Without sparing the time to take anything at all from the houses, by much effort and by literally "dragging themselves and the women and children along" in their haste, the stragglers later in the day reached Isleta,<sup>2</sup> the large Tigua *pueblo* which did not take part in the general revolt against the Spaniards.<sup>3</sup> The number of settlers who were finally able to assemble in Isleta, including seven missionaries,<sup>4</sup> was approximately fifteen hundred. Of these there were only one hundred and twenty men capable of bearing arms,<sup>5</sup> and these were poorly equipped, the Indians having possessed themselves of more than two hundred firearms and a large quantity of ammunition.<sup>6</sup>

The total number killed, as reported by García, was one hundred and twenty,<sup>7</sup> or less than one-third of the total number killed throughout the whole province. These must have been for the most part inhabitants of Rio Abajo, though some accounted for by him were settlers of Santo Domingo and of other northern jurisdictions. In the vicinity of Sandia, which was the real center of the revolt in Rio Abajo, the slaughter must have been terrible, for this was one of the most thickly settled districts in the whole province, mention being made in the documents of seventeen *haciendas* and *estancias* on one side of the river alone from Alameda to the *estancia* of Juan Dominguez, three leagues below that *pueblo*.<sup>8</sup> All of these were completely devastated by the Indians, and from many of them none of the settlers escaped.

#### 6. *The Revolt at Zuñi and Other Outlying Pueblos*

The part played in the revolt of the outlying *pueblo* of Acoma has already been treated in connection with the uprising of the

<sup>1</sup>"Notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14.

<sup>2</sup>Auto of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 17.

<sup>3</sup>Auto of Otermín, in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 72.

<sup>4</sup>The following were the missionaries who escaped to Isleta: Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray Francisco Muñoz, Fray Tomás de Tobalina, Fray Juan de Zabaleta, Fray Diego de Parraga, Fray Antonio de Ciera, and Fray José Bonillo. (See Auto of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 19.)

<sup>5</sup>*Autos* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 18.

<sup>6</sup>*Autos* of García, His Alcaldes, and Others, in *Auttos tocantes*, 25.

<sup>7</sup>*Autos* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 19.

<sup>8</sup>Auto of Juan Huartte, in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 18; *Ibid.*, 19.

Queres nation. The only mention made in the documentary sources of 1680 concerning the part taken by the distant Zuñi *pueblos* is the statement of Otermín to the effect that the Indian besiegers of Santa Fé told him that the Spanish inhabitants of Zuñi were all dead.<sup>1</sup>

At the Moqui towns, in Arizona, inhabited by a tribe of Indians similar in their habits and customs to the Pueblos of New Mexico, though speaking a Shoshonean dialect, and who had refused on a former occasion to take part in another planned revolt headed by the *pueblo* of Taos, the revolutionary influence was also felt, and it resulted in the death of the four resident missionaries, and the destruction of the Christian churches.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it will be seen how extensive was the revolt started by the northern *pueblos* of the province of New Mexico, who had not only these tribes as their allies, but also the inhabitants of other districts distant as far as two hundred leagues from the *villa*.<sup>4</sup>

#### 7. *The Condition of the Province Following the Outbreak in the Pueblos*

The condition of the province of New Mexico now beggared description. From Taos to Isleta, a distance of over fifty leagues, the whole country, with the exception of Santa Fé was devastated and depopulated. The *estancias* and *haciendas* of the Spanish settlers had been robbed both of household goods and of the horses and cattle of the fields, while many of the houses had been destroyed by fire. The churches, where not burned, had been stripped of their sacred vessels, robbed of their ornaments, and in every way as completely and foully desecrated as Indian sacrilege and indecency could suggest,<sup>5</sup> while the sacred vestments had

<sup>1</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 32. Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, 1018) mentions one missionary only as being killed there, and Vetancur (*Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, 100) says the padre at Aguico, one of the Zuñi *pueblos*, escaped.

<sup>2</sup>"Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 27.

<sup>3</sup>Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians*, part 1, 561.

<sup>4</sup>Auto of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Autos tocantes*, 73.

<sup>5</sup>" . . . en el Pueblo de sandia, se hallaron Vnos Santos corporales escrementados y dos calises dentro de vna petaca, escondidos entre

been made use of by the Indians as trophies in the dances and festivities celebrating their success.<sup>1</sup> But sadder and more serious than all this was the number that had been killed. Throughout the entire province it had been the aim of the Indians to totally exterminate the Spaniards, and consequently no mercy had been shown, as the Spaniards never tired of telling, even to the children at the breast, nor to the zealous *padres* who administered the Holy Faith. In all there were more than three hundred and eighty Spanish men, women, and children, including servants, who were killed, while this number did not include the eighteen priests, two lay religious, and the prelate of the church of Santa Fé.<sup>2</sup> Those who were not killed, as quickly as possible after the revolt began to assemble in Isleta and in the *villa*, and, in this way, the Indians having got possession of more than thirty leagues in the center of the province,<sup>3</sup> the two divisions of refugees were completely cut off from each other, and each was led by the Indians to believe that the other had been destroyed.<sup>4</sup>

Having thus seen how the Indians took measures to rid themselves of the Spaniards all over the province, the motives that prompted them, the execution of their designs in the different *pueblos*, and the resultant condition of the province, we come now to the measures that were adopted by the refugees in Santa Fé and Isleta for their defense.

#### IV. THE DEFENSIVE EFFORTS OF THE SPANIARDS FOLLOWING THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT

##### 1. *In the Northern Jurisdictions*

(1) *Receipt of the News of the Revolt, and Defensive Measures Adopted at Santa Fé.*—The first recorded intimation that Governor Otermín had concerning a general revolt of the natives

estiercol, y una echura de un crucifixo quitado a asotes la encarnacion y el Varnis,—escurementado el lugar del aiento de la sacra ara del altar maior, y una echura del Senor San Franco quitados los vrassos ajachassos.  
. . . " (See *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Auttos tocantes*, 73.)

<sup>1</sup>*Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fé, in *Auttos tocantes*, 73.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>"*Auto* de Junta de guerra," in *Auttos tocantes*, 61.

<sup>4</sup>"*Auto* Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas," in *Auttos tocantes*, 45.

of New Mexico came to him, as previously noted, on the 9th day of August in the form of three notices to that effect, one each being received from Taos, Galisteo, and Pecos. At the same time the Indian governors and captains of the Tanos and neighboring *pueblos* appeared in the *villa*, corroborating the reports, and designating two Indians of Tesuque as the messengers who had delivered the order to them to take part in the revolt, which they stated was to begin on the night of August 13. Upon the receipt of this intelligence Otermín lost no time in taking the matter in hand, and "with all the promptness which the case demanded" he despatched the *maestro de campo* Francisco Gómez Robledo to Tesuque to arrest Catua and Omtua and bring them to the *villa*. At the same time "with the least possible delay" he sent notices to the *alcaldes mayores* of all the jurisdictions in the province with instructions for them to notify the settlers in their respective districts of the plans of the Indians,<sup>1</sup> "in order that the churches might not be profaned," and that a force of men might be put under arms upon the shortest possible notice.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime the arrest of Catua and Omtua resulted in the premature outbreak of the Indians that night, and accordingly the efforts of Otermín to thwart them in their plans proved of no avail, for in a few hours after the capture of the messengers at Tesuque the whole province, outside of the immediate jurisdiction of Santa Fé, was in arms. As a result, only the settlers nearest the *villa* received Otermín's orders, and the statement of Davis that "the most vigorous measures were taken to roll back the tide of rebellion," the settlers in the north being "ordered to repair to Santa Fé,"<sup>3</sup> is partly fictitious and altogether misleading. In the first place, as we shall see later, Otermín was absolutely unaware of the real seriousness of the revolt until August 12, and consequently no effort was made by him prior to that time "to roll back the tide of rebellion," and practically his only efforts after that were in defense of the *villa*. In the second place, none of the settlers of the province, outside the jurisdiction of Santa Fé, were ordered to come to the *villa* until August 13, at which time

<sup>1</sup>Auto of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 1.

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 3.

<sup>3</sup>Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 290-291.

Otermín decided to call in the settlers from La Cañada, and these, who were then the only inhabitants of the northern jurisdictions alive outside of the *villa*, together with the inhabitants of Los Cerillos, who reached Santa Fé the night before, were, according to Otermín's sworn statement, the only inhabitants outside of the environs of the *villa* who were able to reach there.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, in those places where the settlers themselves did not learn of the plans of the Indians, they were completely taken off their guard by this sudden and unexpected revolt, with the results as previously stated in the story of the outbreak in the different *pueblos*.

Early on the morning of the next day (August 10) Otermín became aware of the uprising of the Indians north of Santa Fé, when the soldier named Pedro Hidalgo returned from Tesuque, only two leagues north of the *villa*, with the news that all the inhabitants of that *pueblo* and of Cuyamunque were in arms, having already killed Fray Juan Pio as he was attempting to say mass to the Christian apostates, while he himself narrowly escaped. Immediately upon the receipt of this news Otermín took active measures for safeguarding his own jurisdiction against any possible Indian hostilities. Having already dispatched his orders and advices to the different *alcaldes mayores* of the province, and as the tenor of his *auto*<sup>2</sup> of that date shows, having no apparent anxiety concerning their ability to cope successfully with any possible hostilities in their respective jurisdictions, Otermín now took measures to put the *villa* in a better state of defense. Accordingly, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of government and war, was instructed to assemble all the people of the jurisdiction of Santa Fé and its environs in the royal houses (*casas reales*) in order that offensive and defensive plans against the enemy might be adopted if the nature of the case should demand it (*si llegare el caso*). At the same time all the royal arquebuses, blunderbusses, swords, daggers, shields, and munitions which were in the armory and

<sup>1</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 32.

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 3. This *auto* begins as follows: "Luego Yncontinente en dho dia mes Y ano dhos su ssa el Sr govor y Capn gen dijo que por qo tiene despachadas sus hordenes a los alcaldes mayores pa que den abiso en sus partidos Y se asista a la defensa de los Santos templos por que no sean profanados del henemigo . . . mdo a el SSo de govon y gua aga rrecojer a estas casas Rs toda la Jente."

storehouse of the *villa* were taken out, that the servants who were not so provided might be supplied. And at the approach of night sentinels were placed around the *villa*, while a squad of soldiers was stationed in the church to guard the "Holy Sacrament and things of divine cult."<sup>1</sup> All these plans had been determined upon following the arrival of Hidalgo in the *villa* about seven o'clock in the morning, and in less than four hours Xavier notified the Governor that they had all been put into execution as he had ordered.<sup>2</sup>

Having adopted these defensive measures at Santa Fé, and thinking that similar ones were being adopted in the various jurisdictions, as he had ordered, it is clearly evident that Otermín believed all necessary precautions for the safety of the province had been taken. Of the movements of the Indians, and the real seriousness of the situation, however, he was in almost total ignorance, and had he but known that at that very moment the Indians all over the province were slaying the unprotected settlers, devastating their property, and profaning the churches and convents, with the aim of putting an end to the *villa* last, his surprise would doubtless have been as great as was his anxiety for his own and his people's safety some days later.

It was probably the kindness of fate, therefore, that new reports of the extent and character of the revolt came in gradually, as they did during this and the succeeding days, until the worst was learned and the actual siege of the *villa* was in progress, conducted by a horde of savage demons, who having killed as many of the settlers elsewhere as possible, now danced in their glee around the besieged refugees in the government buildings, thinking that they would fall as had the others in the neighboring jurisdictions. The next report that Otermín received, following that brought in by Hidalgo, reached him about five o'clock the same evening, when there arrived at Santa Fé the *alférez* Nicolás Lusero and Antonio Gómez, two soldiers who had been despatched previous to the revolt by the *alcalde mayor* at Taos with notices of the conspiracy and rebellion of the Indians there, but who brought other and more serious news than that forwarded from Taos. These soldiers, as

<sup>1</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Testimo (de Xavier)," in *Autos tocantes*, 3.

before noted, had halted for a short while on their way to the *villa* at the house of Luis de Quintana in the La Cañada settlement, where he and the people of his jurisdiction were gathered to defend themselves from the Tewa Indians who had gone on the war path that morning before day. From Quintana, Lusero and Gómez brought to Otermín news of the murders, atrocities, and devastations already committed in those districts. It was with much danger and difficulty that they had finally been able to reach the *villa*, many arrows and arquebuses having been shot at them by the Indians as they fled through the woods north of Santa Fé.<sup>1</sup>

Otermín now determined to learn the full extent of the revolt, and accordingly he ordered the *maestro de campo*, Francisco Gomez, to take an escort of soldiers and reconnoiter all the *pueblos* of the Tewa and the jurisdiction of La Cañada in order to ascertain the number of murders committed; the extent of damage done; and what remedial measures might be adopted.<sup>2</sup> Taking the original *auto* of Otermín as my authority, I find that there is no foundation for the statement of Davis that Otermín instructed Gómez to bring in the refugees assembled at La Cañada.<sup>3</sup> Otermín did not instruct these people to join him in the *villa* until August 13, and then the order was sent to their leader and *alcalde mayor*, Luis de Quintana, to bring them in, and not to the *maestro de campo*, Francisco Gómez.<sup>4</sup> On the 12th of August Gómez and his men returned to the *villa* with the report that more than thirty deaths had been accounted for in the Tewa and La Cañada jurisdictions, and that the Indians, having committed many other atrocities, were fortified in Santa Clara and the Sierra del Arroyo de Tesuque.<sup>5</sup> There is no foundation in the original *declaracion* of Gómez for the statement of Davis that he reported that the inhabitants of La Cañada had all been massacred.<sup>6</sup> One incident reported by Gómez, while not pertinent, is interesting. He stated

<sup>1</sup>"Dilijencia Y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, 3-4.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 291.

<sup>4</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 5.

<sup>5</sup>"Auto y declaracion del mro de camPo Franco gomez," in *Auttos tocantes*, 4.

<sup>6</sup>Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 291.

that he and his soldiers captured an Indian revolter whom they admonished many times "to surrender himself in peace," to which the apostate replied that he had rather die and go to *Ynfierno* than do such a thing. Accordingly the Spaniards killed him.

On the same day that Gómez returned with the report of the revolt of the Tewa Indians the inhabitants of Los Cerrillos, who were defending themselves in the house of the *sarjento mayor*, Vernabe Marquez, near the *pueblo* of San Marcos,<sup>1</sup> appealed to Otermín for aid, which was granted them that night,<sup>2</sup> thus making it possible for them to join the main body of the people at Santa Fé.<sup>3</sup> About the same time that this appeal came to Otermín, the news of the revolt of the Tanos, Pecos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega Indians was received.<sup>4</sup> This must have come as a severe shock to the Spaniards, for only a few days previous the chiefs of these *pueblos* had voluntarily come to Santa Fé to make known the plans of the Indians, and they more than any other would naturally have been regarded as friendly to the Spanish cause. Still later in the same day, as a fitting climax to the news that had already been received, came the first recorded intimation that the Indians of the whole province, having already wreaked their vengeance on the inhabitants in the other jurisdictions, were now making preparations to lay siege to the *villa*.<sup>5</sup>

The situation was now known to be critical in the extreme, and the most energetic measures were deemed necessary in the light of all this new information. Realizing for the first time that the revolt was general; that the Indians had already possessed themselves of the property and munitions of many murdered Spaniards, whose numbers he could not estimate, through not having been able to receive any replies to the dispatches that he had sent to the *alcaldes* in the neighboring jurisdictions; and conscious that the churches all over the province had been profaned, and that similar outrages were likely to occur in the church and convent at Santa Fé, Otermín issued orders to the Reverend Padre Predicador Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena "to consummate

<sup>1</sup>"Declarasion de un indio alsado——," in *Auttos tocantes*, 9.

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 5.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

the Holy Sacrament” and in conjunction with Padre Francisco Farfan to collect the images, sacred vessels, and other things of the church and bring them without delay to the governor’s residence (*Palacio*). And in anticipation of the premeditated attack on the *villa* by the allied force of Indians, orders were issued to Quintana and all the inhabitants at La Cañada who were with him, to come at once to Santa Fé, that, all together, they “might resist the fury of the enemy” until expected aid should be received from García;<sup>1</sup> for it was not known that the inhabitants of Rio Abajo under the latter’s command at Isleta, thinking all the northern settlers dead, were even then preparing to abandon the province in the hope of saving their own lives.

With the inhabitants of La Cañada, Los Cerrillos, and the environs of the *villa* all collected at Santa Fé, the whole body of refugees there numbered about one thousand persons,<sup>2</sup> of whom less than one hundred were men capable of bearing arms, the rest being for the most part women and children.<sup>3</sup> In such a precarious condition every precaution and every possible means of defense was now adopted. The entire body of the people, with all the horses and cattle and other provisions and necessities for a siege, were collected in the royal houses; entrenchments were thrown up, and fortifications and guards stationed around them; the roofs of the houses were covered with armed soldiers; and in the doors of the houses were placed the two pieces of cannon, mounted on their carriages and pointing to the openings of the street where the enemy were expected to attack.<sup>4</sup> In this way did the comparatively small band prepare itself to withstand successfully the attack of the combined forces of all the Indian allies.

Having taken every possible precaution in the *villa*, and being anxious concerning the settlers, Otermín now made final efforts to learn definitely of their fate, hoping that some of them might yet be alive. Not having heard from the *alcalde mayor* of Galisteo, to whom he had despatched an order three days previous by two Indian servants, nor from García in Rio Abajo, to whom at the same time he had also despatched an order by a soldier

<sup>1</sup>“Auto (de Otermín),” in *Auttos tocantes*, 5.

<sup>2</sup>“Testimonio Avisa pa salir,” in *Auttos tocantes*, 8.

<sup>3</sup>“Autto (de Otermín): Salieron el dia 22,” in *Auttos tocantes*, 8.

<sup>4</sup>“Auto (de Otermín),” in *Auttos tocantes*, 6.

named Lucas de Ganboa, Otermín determined to make confidants of two Christian Indians, and send them to the jurisdictions of the Tanos and Queres in order that he might learn for a certainty of the true state of affairs there. Trusting these Indians because they left their families in his care in the *villa*, and having bestowed upon them kindnesses and presents to enlist them in this undertaking, Otermín despatched them "in the said confidence," on Thursday, August 13, with letters and orders to the *alcaldes mayores* of the Tanos and Queres jurisdictions, in case they should be found alive.<sup>1</sup> All that day and night the inhabitants of the *villa* anxiously awaited the return of the messengers and the news that they might bring. Nor did they have long to wait, for on the next morning (August 14) the two Indians came fleeing into the *villa* with news that confirmed the gravest fears of the Spaniards. They reported that more than five hundred Indians from Pecos, San Marcos, La Ciénega, Galisteo, San Cristóbal, and San Lázaro, led by a Tanos Indian named Juan, to whom Otermín had entrusted an order to be carried to the *alcalde* at Galisteo, were less than a league away, and that they were only waiting for the arrival of the Taos, Picurís, and Tewa Indians to begin the attack on the *villa*. This they intended to level to the ground, and after killing the Governor and all those with him they were to return undisturbed to their ancient liberties and the adoration and obedience of the gods of their fathers.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *The Siege of Santa Fé*.—Completely cut off from the outside world, with the last hope of reinforcements from the nearby jurisdictions gone, and surrounded on all sides by an overwhelming force of hostile Indians, the Spaniards in Santa Fé resigned themselves to the siege. It began on Thursday, August 15.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Auto y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, 5.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup>The original source for the events of the siege of Santa Fé is an *auto* of Otermín dated August 13 at the beginning and August 20 at the end. From this it would seem that the *auto* was a continuous one being added to from day to day, though the events mentioned in it as occurring after the 13th seem to have been recorded at one time, and undoubtedly without any effort to fix accurately the dates thereafter mentioned. While Otermín does not say definitely when the siege began, he does say that after nine days, "during which time the siege lasted" (*que duro el sitio*, see: "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 32), he ceased fighting with the Indians about the 11th hour of the 20th day of August. (See: "Auto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Autos tocantes*, 7.) This

Early that morning the enemy was discovered in the plain of Las Milpas de San Miguel, south of Santa Fé, sacking the houses as they approached the *villa*.<sup>1</sup> Otermín at once sent out a troop of soldiers to reconnoiter the advancing enemy, when Juan, the leader of the Indians, was seen on horseback, armed with an arquebus, sword, dagger, and other Spanish military equipment, and with a sash of red taffeta, which they recognized as belonging to the convent of Galisteo, around his waist. By favoring him the soldiers finally induced him to enter the plaza of the *villa* in order to talk to the Governor. Here Otermín chided him for having betrayed the confidence which had been imposed in him, to which the Indian replied that it could not now be helped, since already many religious and other Spaniards had been killed, and that the Indians who came with him were fully determined to complete their plans by sacking the *villa* and killing all the Spaniards who were there, unless they were willing to withdraw from the country. And that they might know the decision of the Spaniards in this regard they had brought with them two crosses, one red and the other white, between which the besieged must choose, the former signifying resistance on their part, and the latter that they would abandon the province. Otermín, however, was unwilling even to consider this alternative, and instead admonished them to cease their hostile actions and return to their homes, promising to pardon them for their treason against the king and for the crimes and sacrileges which they had already

would make the beginning of the siege the 11th day of August, though as has been seen it was not until the 14th that the people in Santa Fé actually became aware that a body of Indians was near the *villa*, and it was not until the 15th that they were seen approaching. It thus appears that Otermín considered the siege as beginning with the first measures that were adopted for the defense of the *villa*, which were taken on August 11 when Francisco Xavier was ordered to summon all the people of the *villa* and its jurisdiction to the royal houses where they might be able to defend themselves if the necessity should arise. It has seemed more logical to me, however, to consider the siege as beginning with the actual investment of Santa Fé by the Indians on August 15, and according to this view it could only have lasted five days. In regard to this question Bancroft seems to be unable to determine whether this siege lasted five or seven days, while the statement of Davis ("Papers American Historical Institute," III, 173) that the actual siege lasted ten days is without foundation.

<sup>1</sup>For this and all other facts concerning the siege, not otherwise referred to, see "auto y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, 5-7.

committed. But no such promise from the Spaniards, whom they had come to distrust,<sup>1</sup> was to be considered, and accordingly Juan returned to his people, who received him back in their midst with great shouts, the ringing of bells, and the burning of the chapel of San Miguel.

The die was now cast and nothing remained but to fight. Thinking it best, therefore, to attack this body of Indians before the main division of the allies came up, Otermín despatched a troop of soldiers to dislodge them from the plain of San Miguel. Immediately upon seeing the Spanish soldiers leave the royal houses, the Indians met them on the outskirts of the *villa*, and so furiously did they fight, that in order to save the day the Governor was obliged to go in person with reinforcements for his men. The Indians fortified themselves behind the houses of the *villa*, however, where they fought with the arms and munitions of those they had already killed elsewhere, and all day long the battle raged. By evening the Indians were nearly conquered, and having lost many of their warriors, they collected a large number of cattle, set fire to the houses on that side of the *villa*, and, gathering up their dead, withdrew. Not a single casualty is reported on the side of the Spaniards, though the number of Indians killed was considerable. Davis says that the Spaniards had a few killed in this engagement,<sup>2</sup> but I can find no authority for such a statement. The total loss on the side of the Spaniards during the whole siege, as will be seen, was only five.

At just this critical moment, however, the expected aid arrived from the Tewa, Taos, and Picurís Indians, who now threw themselves on the other side of the *villa*. In this extremity the Spaniards, in order that the northern allies might not take complete possession of the *villa*, were forced to abandon the pursuit of the Tanos, who then escaped in flight. It was already past sundown when the fresh warriors arrived. These at once began the attack with such "shamelessness and daring" that they were able to gain an eminence behind the royal houses, where they pitched their camp, and from where they discharged many arquebuses at the besieged in the houses. The attempt of the Spaniards to dislodge

<sup>1</sup>"(Declaracion) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertencientes*, 53.

<sup>2</sup>Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 294.

them from this strategic position served only to increase their fury, and soon afterward they became masters of the cemetery, at the same time sacking and setting fire to the church and many houses of the *villa*, in which work of destruction they were aided by more and more people who kept assembling all the time.<sup>1</sup>

The Spaniards during all this time continued to hold their own until the Indians, failing in their attempt to set fire to the doors of the "Hermita de Nuestra Señora," which was situated in one of the towers of the royal palace,<sup>2</sup> by a stratagem were able to cut off the water supply, conducted from the river to the royal houses, for a space of two days and one night, during which time the cattle and horses began to die of thirst, not to mention the suffering of the people themselves.

Thinking that this was but the beginning of the end, the joy of the Indians now knew no bounds, for they believed that all must certainly perish the next day. Accordingly they took their stand around the royal houses singing the victory song and shouting loudly in their glee that "God the father of the Spaniards and Santa María their mother were dead," and that their own gods whom they obeyed had never died.<sup>3</sup>

Realizing that no terms could be made with the Indians, who during the siege had resented with redoubled fury every overture of peace that had been made to them, and realizing further the impossibility, in their present precarious condition, of remaining another day shut up in the royal houses, Otermín called a council of war, at which it was decided that it would be better to die fighting than of starvation and hunger. Accordingly, it was decided to offer open battle to the enemy at daybreak the next morning (August 20). And at that time the small force of Spaniards "invoking the name of the Virgin Santa María" rushed from the royal houses upon the surprised Indians, running over them and trampling them under their horses feet, and dislodging them from the streets and houses in which they were. The Indians were completely discomfited by this sudden and unexpected attack from the Span-

<sup>1</sup>The document reads—"juntandose todos los dias mas y mas jente," which indicates that the events recorded extended not only into the next day but probably for several more.

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, 32.

<sup>3</sup>"Declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino," in *Autos Perteneccientes*, 24.

iards, and in a few hours (Otermín says he stopped fighting at the 11th hour of the morning), after two small skirmishes,<sup>1</sup> more than fifteen hundred of their number were in flight, three hundred were left dead in the *villa*, and forty-seven others were captured; while eleven firearms, more than eighty head of cattle, and other spoils were regained by the Spaniards and taken back to the royal houses.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, after a period of five days, ended the siege of Santa Fé. During this time the Spaniards had been surrounded by a body of Indians nearly twice their total number. In the two pitched battles of this siege, as well as in the various skirmishes and minor engagements, the casualties among the Indians had been heavy, while the Spaniards during the whole time lost only the *maestro de campo*, Andrés Gómez, and four soldiers. A number, however, were wounded, including the Governor, who received a painful though not dangerous flesh wound in the breast. The heavy loss of the Indians as compared with that of the Spaniards can be accounted for by the fact that the latter were better trained in the more improved and scientific tactics of war, and consequently fought with more system and organization. The real strength of the Indians, on the other hand, lay not in their organization as a military body, but merely in their superior numbers. Nevertheless, it is not to be wondered at that the Spaniards considered the outcome miraculous, and due to the "most serene Virgin," whose name they had invoked in their skirmishes and attacks upon the Christian apostates.

(3) *The Decision to Retreat, and the Abandonment of Santa Fé.*—The condition of the Spaniards following the defeat and rout of the Indians was hardly less critical than during the siege. From the forty-seven captured Indians, who after having testified concerning the revolt were shot by the Spaniards, Otermín learned that the Christian apostates were allied in their work of destruction with their old enemies, the "infidel Apaches," and that already from Taos to Isleta, a distance of fifty-one leagues, they had devastated the whole country and had killed all the people in the province with the exception of those in the royal houses, and

<sup>1</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 32.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 33.

the inhabitants of Rio Abajo, who had assembled at Isleta following the general convocation and revolt of the natives.<sup>1</sup> Being thus completely cut off from the other survivors of the ruined and pillaged country, and having to depend altogether on the resources of the *villa*, which Otermín found to be scanty in the extreme, the situation of the Spaniards was a perilous one. The food supply in the *villa* was almost exhausted by a number of cattle having died during the siege and those that were yet alive, together with the tired and weakened horses, had to be driven daily to the river for water. This necessitated a guard of soldiers to protect them from the enemy, and this left the garrison practically undefended.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the houses of the *villa* had all been burned and men, women, children, and beasts were crowded together in the royal houses as the only place of shelter and of defense against the Indians.

It was evident that it would be useless to attempt to maintain themselves longer in such a condition. Harkening, therefore, to the unanimous plea of *alcaldes*, captains of war, soldiers, and missionaries, Otermín, looking as he said, "to the greater service of the two majesties," determined on the 21st day of August to abandon the *villa* and march towards Isleta, in the best military order possible, before the Indians could recover from their losses, ally themselves with the Apaches, and make another attack.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, orders were issued to the secretary of government and war, Francisco Xavier, to collect all the property of the Governor's own *hacienda* and distribute it equally among the people in the royal houses, that they might go out "protected and sustained."<sup>4</sup> These provisions as distributed to the one thousand and more men, women, and children, consisted chiefly of wearing apparel, such as shoes, shirts, uniforms, overcoats, and other supplies, together with all the horses that were left, for the use of

<sup>1</sup>"Auto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Auttos tocantes*, 7. This was the first definite information that Otermín had concerning the escape of the Rio Abajo people, since the Indians had led him to believe during the siege that those in the *villa* were the only ones that had escaped in the whole province. (See "Auto Parar pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas," in *Auttos tocantes*, 45.)

<sup>2</sup>"Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, 8.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

the people in leaving the province. The value of all these things which Otermín gave, free of charge, was according to the estimate of Xavier, 8,000 pesos.<sup>1</sup> These supplies having been distributed it was decided to set out the same day and march one league from the *villa*.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, turning their backs on the charred remains of what had once been the houses and the church of the *villa* of Santa Fé,<sup>3</sup> this body of refugees, with their faces toward the south, started out through the ruined districts to join their countrymen and fellow sufferers, who, as they thought, were at Isleta, but who, as will be seen, had already left that *pueblo* in defense of their own lives a week before.

## 2. Defensive Efforts in Rio Abajo

(1) *Efforts of García to Communicate with the Northern Refugees.*—On Sunday, August 11, having collected as many of the settlers of his jurisdiction as possible in Isleta, García determined before turning his back for good on the devastated country that stretched before him to the north, to make a last stand at his house, three and one-half leagues below Sandia,<sup>4</sup> in order to try to learn something definite and reliable of the fate of the Governor and the inhabitants of the other jurisdictions. Here for two whole days, "as loyal vassals of his majesty," he and his six sons attempted to fortify themselves, being completely cut off from all outside aid by the besieging Indians who surrounded their house in mounted squads. Nevertheless, three different messages were despatched to the Governor, but none of them came into his hands, because the whole thirty leagues to the *villa* was completely infested by the enemy.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, it will be remembered, Otermín in Santa Fé was trying to get in communication with the Rio Abajo people.

<sup>1</sup>"Testimonio Avisa pa salir," in *Auttos tocantes*, 8.

<sup>2</sup>"Autto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Auttos tocantes*, 8. From the title of this *auto* it appears that they started from the *villa* on the 22nd, but the *auto* is dated in the text the 21st, and states definitely that it was determined to march a league that same day. (*se determino marchar oy dho día hasta una legua desta va.*)

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 12.

<sup>5</sup>"Notificasion y Prision," in *Auttos tocantes*, 14.

Such efforts on either side, however, were futile, for, as it is definitely stated, no communication whatever passed between the two divisions.<sup>1</sup> The statement of Davis, therefore, that Governor Otermín “directed that the Spaniards in the south take refuge in the *pueblo* of Isleta, under the command of the lieutenant-governor, and there fortify themselves,” which “summons the settlers obeyed with alacrity,”<sup>2</sup> is purely fictitious. Moreover, with the very first attack of the Indians in Rio Abajo came the news that the Governor and all the settlers as far south as Santo Domingo were dead, and it would have been folly for the practically defenseless inhabitants of the southern jurisdictions to have attempted to assemble at any other place, since Isleta was the only *pueblo* north of the Piros nation that remained friendly to the Spaniards. On the night of the second day, therefore, having received no reply from his dispatches, and having learned that the people at Isleta were becoming restless and were beginning to set out for Mexico because of the current report that the Governor and the northern refugees were dead,<sup>3</sup> García collected his horses, abandoned his *hacienda*, and joined the other citizens of his jurisdiction in Isleta.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *The Decision to Abandon Isleta.*—Having failed in his desperate attempts to ascertain the fate of the Governor and his division, and having every reason to believe the reports that they were all dead, it now behooved García to determine on some plans for the safety of the fifteen hundred Spaniards at Isleta. The condition of these people he found serious in the extreme when he joined them in that *pueblo* on the night of August 13. Owing to the great haste in which the refugees had assembled there the

<sup>1</sup>“Auto Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas,” in *Auttos tocantes*, 45; *Auto* of Otermín, in *Ibid.*, 57; “Auto de Junta de guerra,” in *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>2</sup>Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 290-291.

<sup>3</sup>The Rio Abajo people were told by the Indians that they were the only ones in the province that had escaped the general slaughter, just as the same story was told to those at Santa Fé (see “Auto Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas,” in *Auttos tocantes*, 45), and it is a peculiar co-incidence that each division learned of the preservation of the other on the same day (August 20), after the former had already retreated as far as Socorro (see *Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 21), and the latter had successfully withstood the siege of Santa Fé. (See *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, 33.)

<sup>4</sup>“Notificacion y Prision,” in *Auttos tocantes*, 15.

Sunday previous, only a limited supply of provisions and munitions were taken with them, and these were rapidly diminishing, so that they could at that time count on their supply of ready provisions lasting not longer than eight more days,<sup>1</sup> while of munitions they possessed only the few rounds which they carried in their pouches.<sup>2</sup> The Indians, on the other hand, were in possession of large quantities of munitions, and had collected large stores of provisions and other property.<sup>3</sup> It is thus seen how poorly prepared were the refugees, who included only one hundred and twenty able-bodied men,<sup>4</sup> for undergoing a siege, not to mention the impossibility of attempting to send a force of men to ascertain the fate of the Governor, or for a reconquest of the province.<sup>5</sup> For, as was pointed out, to have attempted either would only have resulted in the destruction of all, and especially of the women and children who would have been left practically undefended in the *pueblo*.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the fear of an attack from the Northern Indians at any time was paramount. Such an attack would doubtless have been made had the siege of Santa Fé not been in progress at that time, while the Indians of Isleta, the natives of which *pueblo* alone outnumbered the refugees, were becoming restless and warlike, due to the threats that had come to them from the other *pueblos* and especially those of their own nation for not having taken part in the revolt.<sup>7</sup>

In this situation, therefore, García on August 14 called a council of all the men-at-arms in his division, together with the seven missionaries, in order that "as vassals of his majesty they might give their opinions, God being their witness, as to what should be done" in this extremity.<sup>8</sup> And it was the unanimous decision of

<sup>1</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 24.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 19.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>According to the statement of Captain Joseph Telles Xiron thirty men from Isleta were in the convoy despatched by the Governor to meet the wagons of supplies and provisions which was being sent by the viceroy from Mexico for the aid of the province, while others were reported as being at Zuñi. (See *Auttos tocantes*, 26.)

<sup>5</sup>*Auttos tocantes*, 18.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>8</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, 17.

the *mastros de campos*, *sarjentos mayores*, captains, missionaries, and soldiers, who expressed their opinions, that, considering their weak and impoverished condition, the *pueblo* should be abandoned and the whole body of the people should retreat towards Mexico, in as good military order as possible, until they should meet the wagons of supplies<sup>1</sup> and the escort that went with it, which had been started from Mexico the year previous for the aid and support of the religious of the province. This was supposed by that time to be not very far down the river. García having heard the opinions as expressed not only by the soldiers, but by the missionaries as well, and looking as he said to the conservation of the lives of all in that *pueblo*, at once, as Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General, and with no superior authority above him in the whole province, as he thought, gave the order for the retreat.<sup>2</sup> The preparations were begun promptly, and on August 14, which was the day before the actual siege of Santa Fé began, this weak and impoverished division started on its march to the south.

It is not proposed to relate from this point the story of the retreat of the Spaniards from the province. Suffice it here to say that at Fray Cristóbal on September 13 the division of Otermín overtook the Rio Abajo people, to whom a message ordering them to wait had been sent from below Isleta. From Fray Cristóbal the retreat was continued, and on September 29 was reached a place called La Salineta, within the present limits of Texas, and only four leagues above the monastery of Guadalupe at the pass of the Rio del Norte. Here a *junta de guerra* was held, at which it was decided to make a settlement on the opposite side of the river, near the monastery of Guadalupe, at a place called La Toma del Rio del Norte, and from there to send an account of the revolt to the viceroy, asking him to aid in the reconquest of the province. With the settlement of the Spanish refugees from New Mexico at La Toma the real history of the civil and military settlements around El Paso begins, but this story must be told in another connection.

<sup>1</sup>*Autos tocantes*, 18.

<sup>2</sup>*Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, 19.

## DESTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF TEXAS

E. W. WINKLER

## I. BURNING OF THE OFFICE OF THE TREASURER OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

The burning of the Office of the Treasurer of the Republic of Texas, in September, 1845, is narrated in a discussion between the *Texas National Register*, of Washington, and *The Morning Star*, of Houston. The matter is closed with an official statement from the secretary of the treasury. In reading these accounts it should be borne in mind that the secretary of the treasury and the treasurer are not identical; the former was head of the treasury department, the latter was in charge of a bureau in that department.

When President Houston ordered the various executive departments from Austin to Houston, in March, 1842, the archives of all the departments were detained at Austin. With the exception of the general land office, the departments resumed their duties at Houston; as the land office was unable to transact business without its archives, it remained in Austin. After the attempt to remove the archives by force, they were placed in the custody of a committee of citizens to await a settlement of the seat of government question. The constitutional convention decreed that Austin should be the seat of government until 1850. Thereupon the committee surrendered the archives to the proper officials. The burning of the Treasurer's Office occurred after the committee had surrendered the archives to the treasurer, but before he had removed to Austin the archives pertaining to his bureau at Washington.

As will be seen from the statement of the secretary of the treasury, the archives of the department—even that portion at Austin—were not among those destroyed. The loss occasioned by this fire both to the government and to the historian, therefore, appears to have been unimportant. The account below shows the character and extent of the loss sustained.

We regret to learn that about two o'clock on the morning of the 9th inst. the office of the Treasurer of the Republic, at the City

of Austin, including the records and papers appertaining thereto, up to the commencement of the last administration, was entirely consumed by fire. It was doubtless the work of an incendiary, who may have hoped in this way to destroy existing evidence of defalcation or indebtedness to the Government. And this supposition is the more probable from the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury had announced his intention of placing the books and papers of his department in a condition to exhibit fully the accounts of debtors and defaulters, previous to the change of government<sup>1</sup> [which would follow annexation].

A variety of contradictory reports have been in circulation recently relative to the Treasury Office that was burnt at Austin a few weeks since. We have hitherto deemed them unworthy of notice, for we had supposed that very few valuable papers were destroyed. It will be recollected, however, that immediately after the news of the burning of the Office reached Washington, the editor of the *Washington Register* published a statement to the effect that the vouchers of the Office included those which showed the amount of indebtedness of the government defaulters, were destroyed. We thought that the article contained an intimation that the Office might have been burnt by one of the defaulters. How any defaulter could ascertain that the evidences of his iniquity were looked up in this Office is to us inexplicable, for we have ever supposed that it was the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, and of the Auditor and Comptroller to keep these evidences in their offices. The Treasurer, we supposed, merely kept the vouchers shewing the amount of money received and disbursed by him. Unless, therefore, he had in his office a part of the papers and documents belonging to other offices, the amount of injury sustained by the government cannot be very great. It is important that the amount of injury that the government has sustained should be made known, and we sincerely hope that the Treasurer will publish a statement of the papers and documents that were consumed. By neglecting this he has already subjected himself to charges of a very discreditable character, as will be seen by the following extract from a letter published in the *Montgomery Patriot* of Oct. 25th. This letter, says the *Patriot*, was written by a person who was at Austin when the conflagration took place:

"It is known that the archives remained at Austin, under the superintendence of a committee, in the center of the town, until the latter part of August last, at which time President Jones and his cabinet arrived at Austin, and took possession of them. The Treasury Department was immediately moved some two or three

<sup>1</sup>*Texas National Register*, September 18, 1845.

hundred yards to a point near the river, to the Treasurer's house, and there left without any person to care of them.

"Immediately after the President and his Secretary and Treasurer left for Washington, and I think on the 11th of September about 2 o'clock in the morning, the house was discovered on fire and the flames issuing through the windows from the inside, yet no one lived in the house nor near it.

"In the morning after the burning, the person having the key to the house reported that there was nothing of value in the house, yet the Treasurer had stated to Dr. Haney that the whole Treasury Department is burnt, together with a cart load of red backs."<sup>1</sup>

No satisfactory discovery has yet been made of the perpetrator of this base transaction [the burning of the Treasurer's Office], or of his motives. The archives destroyed were those of the Treasurer's Office, from the commencement of the Government to the first of January, 1840, all of which had been reported to other offices, and the evidences there are yet to be found. None of the papers, vouchers, or records of recent date were in that building, and whatever may have been the object of the villain who committed the crime the Government will probably suffer no pecuniary loss. The principal sufferer is Dr. [Moses] Johnson, the present Treasurer, who was the owner of the building.<sup>2</sup>

We have learned with pleasure that the Treasurer intends to publish a statement of the vouchers and public documents destroyed in the Treasury Office that was burned at Austin a few weeks since. It appears that a large package of Promissory Notes that had been redeemed was in the Office at the time it was burned. These notes belonged to the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, but had been removed to the Treasurer's Office by the request of the Secretary. We understand that these notes had been marked across the face with a pen and had been clipped in one or two places with scissors to denote that they had been cancelled. They were not deposited in an iron safe, but in a wooden box.<sup>3</sup> . . .

In the annual report for the year ending October 31, 1845, Secretary of the Treasury, J. A. Greer, says:

In the short time during which the archives formerly left in this city have been again in the possession of this Department, its officers have been too much occupied with its closing business to ascertain with certainty the amount of the national debt. . . .

<sup>1</sup>*The Morning Star*, November 8, 1845.

<sup>2</sup>*Texas National Register*, November 15, 1845.

<sup>3</sup>*The Morning Star*, December 2, 1845.

The burning of the Treasurer's Office in this city, and the exaggerated reports of the quantity and importance of the papers lost on that occasion, have caused apprehensions in other quarters that the Government would suffer serious loss by the accident. For the satisfaction of the public, I will here mention that such is not the case. A large amount of promissory notes and audited drafts were there consumed, but they had all been previously cancelled, they are, moreover, on register in other offices. among the other liabilities of that class issued—though in the sum registered, it would be difficult to identify the separate bills of the amount destroyed, since the detailed register of their cancelment was burnt with them. The other papers consumed, all of which belonged exclusively to the Treasury Bureau, have in other offices either duplicates or a detailed registry which will answer the same purpose.<sup>1</sup>

## II. BURNING OF THE OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF TEXAS

Through a misprint, a footnote on page 327 of *THE QUARTERLY* for April, 1911, gives the date of the burning of the Adjutant General's Office incorrectly as October 10, 1853. The office burned in 1855. The writer has made an effort to collect all information obtainable in regard to this disaster. One of the principal documents has thus far eluded him in his search, but it is hoped that by submitting this fragmentary account attention will be drawn to this missing paper and its discovery assured.

1. *Condition of the Archives of the Adjutant General's Office in 1852.*—A special committee from the house of representatives, appointed to examine and report on the condition of the Adjutant General's Office, made a report on January 16, 1852, from which the following extract is made:<sup>2</sup>

The committee are compelled to notice the want of sufficient means or conveniences to protect and preserve the papers and books in that office, and in view of the great importance to the country that the archives of this office should be effectually preserved, we recommend such an appropriation for this purpose as may be deemed necessary by the legislature. And they would further represent that the books containing the muster rolls, are in a

<sup>1</sup>*Appendix to the Journal of the Senate of the first Legislature of the State of Texas*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>*House Journal*, 4th Legislature, pp. 566, 567.

torn and dilapidated condition, and are likely, unless soon transcribed, to be entirely defaced and destroyed. We deem it almost unnecessary to remind this honorable body of the absolute necessity and importance of preserving the muster rolls, not only on account of the pecuniary interest involved, but also as a proud memorial of the patriotism and self-sacrificing spirit of those who were ever ready to rally around the Lone Star, and to yield, if necessary, their lives in defence of Texian independence, and Texian soil. The muster rolls of those who fell at the Alamo, are almost entirely destroyed; and shall we, governed by a selfish spirit of economy, permit the only record of that "Spartan Band" to be lost, who offered their lives as a sacrifice upon the Altar of our Liberties, and who, in stemming the tide of Mexican oppression, left as a rich inheritance to Texas, their memory, and the record of their heroic achievements? We feel that there can be but one response from every Texian heart. It will be necessary to record some of the other rolls which have never as yet been copied into any book.

It was suggested to the committee in the early part of the session, the propriety of enquiring as to the policy of either abolishing the Adjutant General's Office, or of merging it into that of the Land Office. In accordance with these intimations, we have given the subject our mature consideration, and we are induced to believe that it would be both impolitic and inexpedient at present to abolish this office. But they believe that by the next session of the legislature, there will be but little necessity to continue it, and then it can, without detriment, be transferred, and made a part of the General Land Office. . . .

H. B. ANDREWS, Chairman.

R. H. TAYLOR,

E. H. TARRANT,

H. M. LAWSON.

2. *The Burning of the Adjutant General's Office in 1855.*—Two weekly newspapers were published in Austin at the time when the Adjutant General's Office was burned. Their day of publication was the same, Saturday. The first account of the fire, which follows, is from the *Texas State Times* of October 13, 1855; the second is from the *State Gazette* of the same date.

[O]<sup>n1</sup> Wednesday morning between 3 and [4 o']clock Major

<sup>1</sup>When the binder trimmed this volume of the *Texas State Times* he cut off a strip of the text one-fourth of an inch in width. An attempt has been made to supply the words or letters cut off; the words or letters supplied are in brackets.

## *Destruction of Historical Archives of Texas*

Gillet was aroused by [the] noise of fire close to him. He rushed [from] his room and discovered the adjoining [room] containing the archives of the Adju[tant] General's Department in flames. The win[dow] shutter was open and had been, no doubt, [force]d. At this point it is supposed the in[cendiar]y entered and fired the papers in the [said] office. All the army rolls, in fact every [impo]rtant paper in relation to the military [affai]rs of Texas, were consumed. There is [no m]eans to procure duplicates. The burn[ing] of no other archives could have been a [grea]ter loss to Texas. It will open the door [to th]e defrauding of many persons of their [just] rights. Maj. Gillet made a rather nar[row] escape himself—a few more minutes [woul]d have sufficed to envelope his sleeping [apar]tment in flames. He lost all his house[hold] and kitchen furniture—barely escaping [with] the clothes by his bedside.

[Pr]ovidentially there was little breeze else [the] fire would have spread.

[T]he incendiary who committed this attro[cious] deed, was, it is supposed, implicated in [the] forging transactions brought to light a [few] months since.

[T]wo years ago Maj. Gillet called the at[tenti]on of the legislature to the propriety of [placi]ng these important papers in a fire proof [build]ing. Just then they were seized with [a ke]en fit of economy and refused. They [can] now see the result of their unwise parsi[moni]ousness—'Pennywise—pound-foolish.'

Early on Thursday morning last, the office of the adjutant general was discovered to be on fire, and in a short time the whole building was enveloped in flames. Gen. Gillett was barely able to save a few clothes. All the records of the office, and a large number of important papers filed in the cases of applicants for relief are destroyed. It will be necessary for the legislature to make some provision for the identification of the claims proved by the records in this office. There is no doubt that the fire was the work of an incendiary. Gen. Gillett had carefully avoided having any fire kept in his room for some time past. The window of the office was found open, and the fire appeared to have been built on the floor. It is very likely that it was the work of some parties implicated in the charge of forgery, in whose cases the evidence of guilt was to be found in the Adjutant's office. We hope some clue may yet be found for the discovery of the offenders. The Gazette office was immediately opposite the building destroyed, and had a North wind been blowing, we should have been burnt out, and also the block in which are situated the Hall House and Metropolitan.

3. *Some Results of the Fire.*—Governor Pease in his message to the sixth legislature, November 5, 1855, called attention to this fire and made the recommendations below:<sup>1</sup>

I submit herewith a communication from the Adjutant General,<sup>2</sup> in relation to the burning of his office, which contains all the information that has been obtained in regard to this truly lamentable occurrence, by which all the original archives of the War and Navy Departments of the late Republic of Texas, have been destroyed.

This great loss should impress upon us the necessity of providing suitable fire proof buildings, for the security of the remaining archives of our government.

The records and papers of the State Department are now kept in an insecure wooden building, equally as liable to be fired either by accident or an incendiary, as was that of the Adjutant General's office.

The building now occupied by the General Land Office, although sufficient for the period of its erection, is now entirely inadequate for the increased business of that office, a larger and more commodious building would facilitate the despatch of its business, and the present Land Office would furnish ample rooms for those of our public offices that are not now supplied with fire proof buildings.

This matter is commended to your consideration with a confidence that you will adopt all reasonable means to insure the safety of our public records.

I also think it would be a measure of prudence, to have a person employed to guard our public buildings at night, this precaution might prevent them from being broken open, and their contents destroyed or taken away, and would render them more secure from fire.

The recommendations of the governor were observed by the legislature. The sum of \$40,000 was appropriated for the erection of a new fire proof building for the use of the General Land Office<sup>3</sup>—the building still in use at present. It was further provided that on completion of the new building, the one vacated by the General Land Office should be occupied by the Secretary of State, the Governor, and the Attorney General.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Senate Journal*, 6th Legislature, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>2</sup>This communication from the Adjutant General has not been found.

<sup>3</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, IV, 231.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, 236.

The regular session of the sixth legislature adjourned on February 4, 1856. On the same day Governor Pease sent the following letter to the Adjutant General, Major James S. Gillett:<sup>1</sup>

Sir:

The Legislature has adjourned without the passage of any law, prescribing the mode in which the duties in your office shall be performed, since the destruction of its records by fire, there is therefore no longer any occasion for the services of an Adjutant General.

They also failed to make any appropriation for the salary.

You will therefore consider your office vacated from and after the receipt of this letter.

All documents and papers belonging to your office, you will please deposit in the office of the Secretary of State, taking his receipt therefor.

The governor's action in thus summarily suspending one of the State offices appears to have received the approval of the legislature, for at its adjourned session in the following summer provision was made for Major Gillett's salary up to February 4th, but no longer. The office was formally abolished and its duties transferred to the commissioner of claims by an act approved August 1, 1856.<sup>2</sup> The office of adjutant general was revived by an act approved February 14, 1860.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Executive Record, Vol. 276, p. 444, (MS.), in Department of State.

<sup>2</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, IV, 435, 442.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, 1409.

## DOCUMENTS

## A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE SAN JACINTO CAMPAIGN

[A copy of the following letter was obtained for THE QUARTERLY by Miss Katie Daffan of San Augustine, Texas. The original is in the possession of Rev. C. E. W. Dobbs, Pastor of the Eaton Street Baptist Church, Key West, Florida. He carefully compared the copy with the original, and made a number of corrections. He says: "The original . . . is in good preservation. On account of too frequent handling I find that several creases have almost rendered illegible perhaps half a dozen words in the four pages fool's cap. The penmanship is remarkably good." The letter was written the second day after the battle of San Jacinto by W. C. Swearingen to his brother Lemuel Swearingen of Scottsville, Kentucky.]

Texas Bufaloe Bieau, Apr. 23rd, 1836.

Dear Brother:

In my last letter I informed you that I should start the next day for Gen. Huston's camp, and Joined him on the Colorado River, the Mexican Army was then Encamped on the oposite side of the River 3000 strong.<sup>1</sup> Huston's Army was including our 2 companics 1372 men, the next day after we Joined him he commenced a retreat back on the River Brassas, 15 miles above the town of San Felipe de Austin (which Gen. Huston had burnt<sup>2</sup>) the 2nd day after the Site of San Felipe was occupied by the Mexican Army Gen. Huston stationed 3 companies on the river oposite town to prevent their crossing. Santa Anna sent a detachment of 500 men to a ferry below San Felipe called Fort Bend and crossed them over and then sent the Remainder down to the same place and crossed his whole force. Santa Anna stationed 2500 men at Fort Bend and took 500 of his Veterans and 1 heavy Brass nine Pounder and pushed on to Harisburg on

<sup>1</sup>The Mexican force at this place seems to have been less than 800. See THE QUARTERLY, IV, 244, note 5.

<sup>2</sup>That is, caused to be burnt. Houston always denied that he gave the order to burn San Felipe.

Bufaloe Bieau, 35 miles from Fort Bend on his way to Galveston Island, the only port the Texans now have in their possession. Huston immediately crossed the Brasas and took up his march for Harisburg distant 57 miles we got to the bieau opposite Harisburg in the evening and Santa Ana had left it that morning for Linches Ferry on the Road to Galveston Next morning our spies brought in the Mexican Mail Rider and the mail From which we learned that Santa Ana was with the army in person. Gen. Huston had ben compelled to give furlows to upwards of 200 men to go and eary their families beyond the Trinity River for Security, and one entire Company that was left oposite San Felipe went home instead of Joining us on our march, and when we reach Bufaloe Bieau we had 810 men, and before we got through examining the letters, our spies that crossed the Bieau brought in the Col. commanding the Mexican cavalry with a letter from Genl Coss to Santa Ana stating that he would start the next morning from Fort Bend with 650 men to Join him at Linches Fery on Bufaloe Bieau, Gen. Huston then knew that Santa Ana had gone by way of New Washington on the bay, to destroy that place, and then to march up the Bieau to Linches Fery and Join Coss and march on to Galveston and take it Before Huston could find where he was, leaving the main body at Fort Bend to amuse Huston, Gen. Huston crossed the Bieau next day with 520 men and the 2 4 pounders that reached us on our march from the Brasas and left the balance to take care of our baggage and guard the camp. we lay in the Bushes on the road to watch Coss and the 650 men which was expected to pass that day but did not. as soon [as] it became dark we eommenced a rapid march for Linches Fery, calculating that Santa Anna would not cross the Bieau untill the arival of Gen. Coss at 2 oclock A. M. we halted within 2 1/2 miles of Linches Fery at Sun rise on the 20th ultimo [*sic*], we formed our line of battle and proceeded to the fery. when we reached the Fery we found Santa Ana had not yet reached there, but was on his way up from Washington. Huston picked his ground, placed his men, gave them his orders, then made them stack their arms in their places and told them to eat their breakfast and be ready to Receive them about 11 oclock A. M. They came in sight drawn up in line, 400 infantry and 100 horse with their 9 pounder in the center of their Infantry, at

about 350 yds distance they opened on what few they could see of us with their cannon charged with grape and canister shot, but the men they saw was protected by the timber and sustained no injury except 1 man slightly wounded, they did not no we had got a canon and their fire was not returned until their Infantry had comenced their fire with musquetry. we then comenced with our canon hoping they would charge with their Infantry to take them, and by that means we could cut them all off and if possible take Santa Anna prisoner, or kill him. They retreated from our 4th fire of the canon to a small wood in our front where their canon was planted and kept up a fire with their canon until 1 o'clock P. M. when they fell back to a piece of high prairie on the edge of the marsh, their right and from their right to a little past, their center was covered by a thick wood and pond and their left by an almost impassible bieu, with a level open prairie in front, and immediately comenced fortifying with brush, baggage etc. Huston then determined to come out in the plain and engage them, the cavalry was sent out to draw the enemy from their cover but we could not get them to attack us, it being late in the afternoon, Huston deferred attacking him until morning and marched into camp. that knight Coss arrived with his 650 men and joined Santa Anna making his force 1150. Santa Anna then considered Huston and Texas then in his power with no chance of escape and that he would let Cosses men rest one day and on the morning of the 22nd seal the death warrant of Texas by the destruction of Huston and the only men Texas has in the field. At half past 12 o'clock of the 21st ultimo [*sic.*] we left our camp to attack him, leaving 1 company of 38 men in camp, Our cavalry about 110 strong was posted on the right, the 2 companies of Regulars next to the Cavalry, the 2 companies of Volunteers during the on our left and the militia on the left opposite the woods about 300 yds in their front was a low hollow that protected us from their canon in that hollow we formed our line with our 2 4b canon (presented to Texas by the ladies of Cincinnati Ohio) in the rear of the regulars with orders as soon as they ascertained where their canon was planted to open their fire on it and to keep up on the advance with the infantry. the infantry was ordered to trail arms and advance until within 50 yds of the enemy before we fired, as soon as we gained the level they

commenced on our company with grape and canister shot. we  
 rushed on it quick to within 50 yds a heavy fire of Grape canister  
 and musketry, our riflemen having nearly one hundred yards less  
 to go than we had commenced the action with small arms a little  
 before we did with our muskets. the musketry and riflemen  
 kept advancing as they fired when within about 20 steps of the  
 enemy's line we were ordered to charge with the bayonet as soon  
 as we was ordered to the charge and brought our guns to the  
 proper position the enemy gave way except about 60 men round  
 the canon and protected by a breast work of corn sacks, salt bar-  
 rels of meal and boxes of canister shot. they fell by the bayonet  
 and sword in one mangled heap from that time until they reached  
 the bieu. it was nothing but a slaughter, they at first at-  
 tempted to swim the Bieu but they were surrounded by our men  
 and they shot every one that attempted to swim the bieu as  
 soon as he took the water, and them that remained they killed as  
 fast as they could load and shoot them until they surrendered.  
 the enemy lost time [*sic*] between 620 and 700 killed dead on the  
 field and in the Bieu, 410 prisoners among whom is Gen. Santa  
 Anna H. I. M. [S.] E. L. F. his private secretary and the next in  
 command to Santa Anna Genl Savala [*sic*]. 10 of his field offi-  
 cers was killed dead at the head of them is Gen. Coss. There is  
 more than half our prisoners wounded. Our loss was 4 men killed  
 dead and 23 wounded, 3 have since died and there is one more  
 that will die in two days at most. the balance will all get well.  
 Gen. Huston when he ordered the charge, went in front of his  
 men. he was shot through the ankle between the bone and the heel  
 string and his horse killed.

To see the number, the position and the termination and the  
 time in which it was done, (time 18 minutes) it at once shows that  
 the hand of Providence was with us. I shall be in Kentucky  
 early in the fall. Kiss William for me and tell him pappy will  
 be there in the fall and stay with him always and that he must  
 be a good boy. Santa Anna promises if they will spare his life  
 and his men he will guarantee Texas free as far as they claim in  
 the Declaration of Independence. Couriers start in the morning  
 to order all the Mexican troops in Texas to fall back on San An-  
 tonio and Gonzalez until preliminaries are settled and one after  
 the president of Texas to come to our camp and treat with the

tyrant and his fate and that of Texas sealed. Huston says that every man that was in the battle shall have 2 leagues of land. The boat is going to start and I must stop. I will write again in a few days. I remain your affectionate brother,

W. C. Swearingen.

#### AN EARLY LETTER OF SAM HOUSTON'S

[The letter which follows was presented to the University of Texas during the past summer by Professor D. C. Lyle of the McDonogh School for Boys, near Baltimore, Maryland. It was written to his great-uncle, Alexander Campbell, whose farm adjoined the Houston homestead near Lexington, Virginia. Houston was at the time slowly recovering from the desperate wounds which he had received the preceding August in the battle of To-ho-pe-ka. The peace to which he refers was, of course, the treaty of Ghent with Great Britain. Instead of being "disbanded," Houston was promoted to a lieutenancy in the regular army, and remained in the service until May, 1818, when he resigned. The letter was written when Houston was just past twenty-two, and is one of the earliest manuscripts that we have from his pen. In a sketch of Houston published in the *Library of Southern Literature* (VI, 2561), Professor Garrison remarked that if Houston was christened Samuel, he "never called himself by the name or signed it in that form." The letter indicates, however, that in his youth Houston sometimes indulged in the full scriptural *praenomen*.]

Dandridge Apl. 25th 1815

Dear Sir

When I left you I expected to have written to you before now, but not knowing whether or not I would long remain stationary I have omitted writing, and I suppose the restoration of peace will supersede the necessity of doubts on the subject, for it is very probable I will be disbanded, tho. I will not know before the first of May. If I am continued in service it is very likely my destination will soon be New Orleans, and if discontinued I think it probable I will reside in Knoxville for it will be proper for me to pursue some course for a livelihood which will not be laborious as my wounds are not near well, and I suppose it will be impracticable for a disbanded officer to marry, for the[y] will be regarded as

cloathes, out of fashion, not worn or much altered before the[y] are worn but I will not despond, before I am disappointed and I suppose that will be some time for I will not court any of the Dear Girles before I make a fortune and if I come no better speed than I have done heretofore, it will be some time, but I hope before this reaches you, or soon after you will have it in your power to inform me of your marriage to Miss N. Steele for when I left Virginia I thot. it was not far off. I have not any news of importance to write you, people here are much gratified at the restoration of peace, and as we are all Republicans we do not think it is a dishonorable peace, the officers of the army would as soon war had continued, or the major part of them, as relates to me, I would not want peace if I did not believe it was promoting the happiness of the community at large, but at any time I am willing to sacrifice my wish to the welfare of the Republic. please present my warmest respects to your mother and all whom you Believe are my friends I am sincerely your friend

Saml. Houston

[Addressed on reverse]

Capt. Alexander Campbell  
Lexington  
Va

Mr Ro. McEwen

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

Mrs. Anna Maria Ireland, the widow of former Governor Ireland, died at the residence of her grandson, Ireland Graves, at Austin, Texas, on May 28, 1911. She was born in Henry county, Virginia, July 7, 1833.

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Mrs. Mary E. Hardeman, widow of General William P. Hardeman, died at her home in Austin, March 13, 1911, aged 69 years. In her will Mrs. Hardeman bequeathed to the State Library the portrait of her husband painted by Huddle.

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Mrs. Sue Randolph died at her home in Austin, September 12, 1911. She was born August 9, 1830, and, coming to Texas when she was eighteen years old, had been a resident of Austin since 1848. In 1853 she was married to C. H. Randolph, who was State Treasurer, 1858 to 1865.

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ROGER QUARLES MILLS, former United States Senator, died at his home in Corsicana, September 2, 1911, aged seventy-nine years. The story of his eventful life is recorded in the annals of the State's history; want of space forbids its recital here. He rose to the rank of colonel during the Civil War. In 1872 he was elected to the Forty-third Congress and re-elected nine times in succession, but resigned March 29, 1892, to succeed Horace Chilton as United States Senator, serving from March 30, 1892, until March 3, 1899.

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HAL H. NEILL, Associate Justice of the Court of Civil Appeals for the Fourth Supreme Judicial District of Texas, died of apoplexy at Clouderoft, New Mexico, Thursday night, August 31, 1911. A native of Carroll county, Mississippi, where he was born January 29, 1848, he was reared in the old colonial home of his father, Colonel G. F. Neill, four miles from Carrollton. Both his father and mother, Caroline Hart, were of Robinson county, Ten-

nessee. For many years Colonel Neill's home was the second largest in the State. In the last year of the Civil War, Hal H. Neill, then 16 years old, joined the Confederate Army. Although his father was colonel of the Thirteenth Mississippi, he became one of Captain Ike S. Harvey's scouts, and saw service in Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi under Generals Forrest and Hood. After the war, with a number of comrades, he entered the University of Mississippi. At Oxford, L. Q. C. Lamar was one of his professors. He was graduated in 1870 and studied law under Senator Walthal and Senator J. Z. George, names that are revered in Mississippi. In 1872 he moved to Stephenville, Erath county, Texas, and formed a law partnership with T. L. Nugent. When the firm was dissolved he formed a connection with Lee Young, of Stephenville. In 1877 he was married to Dora Fagan, of Stephenville, who survives him. There were five children, two of whom are living—Robert T. Neill and Mrs. Dora Raymond, of Raymondville, Texas. He moved to El Paso in 1882, where he made his home until Governor Hogg appointed him to the bench, when he made San Antonio his home.—From *The San Antonio Express*, September 2, 1911.

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ALPHONSO STEELE, the last survivor of the battle of San Jacinto, died, aged 94 years, at the home of his grandson, Alvin Steele, one mile north of Kosse, some time during the night of July 7/8, 1911. His remains were buried at Mexia.

Alphonso Steele was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, April 9, 1817, and he lived there until he was seventeen years old. In September, 1834, he went down the Mississippi River by boat to Lake Providence, Louisiana, where he remained until November, 1835, when he joined a company of volunteers led by Captain Daggett and marched to Washington, Texas. The company disbanded at Washington and some of the men returned home, but Steele remained in Texas, and in March, 1836, joined General Houston's army on the retreat from Gonzales. He was a member of Captain James Gillespie's company, in Colonel Sherman's regiment. Early in the battle of San Jacinto he was severely wounded, but this did not prevent him from seeing most of the battle, an account of which, obtained from him, is published in the *Houston*

*Chronicle* for July 9, 1911. After the war Mr. Steele settled near Montgomery in Montgomery county, and engaged in farming. On September 28, 1838, he was married to Miss Mary Ann Powell, daughter of Archibald Powell.<sup>1</sup> In the fall of 1844 he removed to Limestone county, and made his home there continuously until his death. *Biography of Private Alonso Steele, only survivor of the campaign and fight, and the official report of Gen. Sam Houston with complete roster of the commands composing the little army*, is the title of a pamphlet of thirty-one pages published (without date) by N. P. Houx of Mexia for Mr. Steele. W.

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David A. Nunn<sup>2</sup> was born October 1, 1836, in Summerville, Noxubee county, Mississippi. He died at his home in Crockett, Texas, August 13, 1911.

After completing a course in the schools of Summerville, he attended college at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and studied law at New Orleans. Soon after being admitted to the bar, he was married on June 8, 1858, to Miss Helen Williams, daughter of Bryan T. Williams, of Macon, Mississippi, and sister of Judge F. A. Williams, of Austin. The young couple set out for Texas on their wedding day, intending to locate at Waco; circumstances changed their destination, and they settled at Crockett, where Mr. Nunn began the practice of law. In 1859 he was elected mayor of Crockett, and successfully maintained respect for the law among numerous lawless characters. At the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the service of the Confederacy. His first service was rendered as Captain of Company I, Fourth Texas Mounted Volunteers, Sibley's Brigade, in the New Mexico-Arizona campaign. Returning home from the West, he raised another company of cavalry, was elected captain, joined Walker's Division, and served in this command till the surrender. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1875, and as chairman of a special committee of seven did much to influence the present free school

<sup>1</sup>*Houston Daily Post*, July 9, 1911.

<sup>2</sup>These facts have been compiled from notices of Colonel Nunn in the *Crockett Courier* of August 17 and 24 and September 7 and 14.

system of the State. After the government was restored to the hands of the people by the Constitution of 1876, Colonel Nunn devoted himself to the practice of his profession, attaining to eminence as a lawyer.

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Miss Ethel Zivley Rather, M. A. (The University of Texas), Ph. D. (Yale University), whose historical work is well known to readers of *THE QUARTERLY*, has been appointed director of women's religious work at Columbia University.

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Mr. William Edward Dunn, whose "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," appeared in the January number of *THE QUARTERLY*, has been awarded a fellowship in history at Columbia University, and will continue his study of Spanish-American History under Professor Shepherd.

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Mr. Charles W. Hackett, whose paper appears in this issue of *THE QUARTERLY*, was awarded a fellowship in history at the University of California, and will continue there his work with Professor Bolton. Both Mr. Dunn and Mr. Hackett are graduates of the University of Texas.

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Miss Eleanor Claire Buckley, whose paper on the Aguayo Expedition appeared in the July *QUARTERLY*, has been appointed by the Regents of the University of Texas to classify and calendar the Bexar archives and other manuscript collections of the University. Miss Buckley will be a member of the School of History, with the title of Archivist. She took the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Texas in 1909.

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At a meeting of the Texas Library and Historical Commission, held September 19th, the resignation of Mr. John B. Kaiser, as assistant librarian in charge of legislative reference work, was accepted. Mr. Kaiser left Texas to take charge of similar work in the Library of the University of Illinois. Miss Octavia F.

Rogan was elected assistant librarian and cataloguer. Miss Rogan comes from the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, but her home is in Austin. She is a graduate of the University of Texas. Miss Elizabeth H. West was elected archivist, a position created at the Called Session of the Thirty-second Legislature. Miss West comes from the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. She is a graduate of the University of Texas, and has contributed some important articles to *THE QUARTERLY*. The Legislature allowed the Library Commission an appropriation with which to print a volume of the Texas Archives.

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On July 6 last a bronze statue of Judge John H. Reagan was unveiled in Reagan Park at Palestine, Texas. The ceremony was conducted by the John H. Reagan Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.—(*Austin Statesman*, July 7, 1911.)

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The general appropriation bill passed at the Called Session of the Thirty-second Legislature carries an item appropriating \$2000 "to erect [a monument] at the grave of Governor George T. Wood, near Point Blank, San Jacinto county." The words in brackets do not appear in the bill, which may invalidate the appropriation intended.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge. (Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology.) Part I, A-M, p. ix+972, with Map; Part II, N-Z, p. iv+1221. 2 vols., 8vo. Illustrated. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907 and 1910.

The appearance of this work marks an epoch in the study of the North American Indian. The knowledge which has been collected by numerous students and investigators during several decades, as well as the notes and observations of explorers, travelers, etc., are here summarized and compressed into two volumes. The work is encyclopedic in character and treatment; it "contains a descriptive list of the stocks, confederacies, tribes, tribal divisions, and settlements north of Mexico, accompanied with the various names by which these have been known, together with biographies of Indians of note, sketches of their history, archaeology, manners, arts, customs, and institutions, and the aboriginal words incorporated into the English language." The various topics are treated in brief articles arranged in alphabetical order. To many of the articles are appended brief bibliographies. The map shows the location of the various linguistic families of American Indians.

This brief notice of the general character of the work must suffice in order that more particular attention may be given to the treatment of those topics dealing with the tribes formerly resident within the limits of what is now Texas. The editor in his preface to the work states that "the lack of completeness of our present knowledge of the tribes was, perhaps, never better shown than when an attempt was made to carry out the enlarged plan of the *Handbook*." These words, although not intended for any particular State, nevertheless express precisely the impression resulting from an examination of the data for Texas tribes presented in Part I. Part I contains about 140 entries dealing with Texas tribes; most of the entries are brief—seven or eight lines of a two-column octavo page. If all the Texas data in Part I were grouped together they would, perhaps, cover less than forty pages. Brevity is not the only fault; the data have been gleaned from such records as have appeared in print, chiefly in English and French; manu-

script sources, and particularly manuscript sources in Texas and Mexico, having scarcely been touched. With the possible exception of those tribes residing on the Louisiana frontier, the sources consulted are inadequate to furnish any satisfactory degree of accuracy or completeness in the sketches of Texas tribes. This fact was clearly recognized by the authorities of the Bureau of American Ethnology; in the summer of 1906, therefore, they engaged the service of Dr. H. E. Bolton, who had made extensive researches among the archives in Texas and Mexico, to write a history of the Texas tribes. He also began at once to contribute information and some articles for the *Handbook*; a number of his articles appear toward the end of Part I. The long delay in the publication of Part II has resulted in a marked improvement in many of the articles dealing with Texas subjects. It contains about 250 entries for Texas, and the space devoted to them would fill, perhaps, 60 pages.

Among the longer articles in Part I relating to Texas subjects that are more or less satisfactory may be named the following: Adai, Anadarko, Arkokisa, Caddo, Eyeish, Kadohadacho, Kichai, Lipan and Mayeye. A number of the articles in Part I receive corrections or amplification in articles in Part II. For example, in the article on the Adai it is stated that the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar was established in 1735; the correct date is given in the article on Nuestra Señora del Pilar. The article on Candelaria mission on San Gabriel river is rewritten under the title of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria. The article on the Deadoses is corrected in that on San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas. The brief sketch of the Hainai is amplified in the article on Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción. The article on the Karankawas receives corrections in that on Nuestra Señora del Rosario. The only reference to the Alibamu tribe in Texas is the statement that in 1890 "a party of about 200 resided in Polk county." An interesting report on this tribe was made December 6, 1910, in which they are characterized as self-sustaining, peaceable, honest, industrious and absolutely civilized (House Document No. 1232, 61st Congress, 3rd Session). The biographical sketches of Texas Indians include those of The Bowl, Big Mush, Big Jim, Big Tree or Adoeette and El Mocho, but no mention is made of Richard Fields, John Dunn Hunter and Flaco.

The facts of Texas history used in the sketches are not always correctly stated. In the article on the Karankawas, Austin is said to have founded his colony on the Brazos in 1823. In the article on the Caddos reference is made to the "governor of the republic of Texas" treating with the Indians in 1843. A graver error is the statement in the article on the Cherokees that these Indians had "obtained a grant of land in the eastern part of [Texas] from the Mexican government," and that the Texans refused to recognize the rights of the Indians. The claim of the Cherokees to land under a grant from the Mexican government is fully discussed in *THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 95-165. The reasons for the rejection of the treaty concluded by Sam Houston with the Cherokees, February 23, 1836, and for their expulsion in 1839, rested mainly on the intriguing and traitorous conduct of these Indians subsequent to the date of Houston's treaty with them. Nor should the fact be overlooked that they were intruders, regarded as such by Mexico and the Republic of Texas, and that force of arms was resorted to after efforts to secure their peaceful removal by the United States had failed. The statement concerning the policy of the Republic of Texas in dealing with the Indians (Part I, p. 501, column 2) is also full of errors.

While there are many unsatisfactory articles in Part II, there is also a number of articles that are very good; some may be called notable. Among the more important sketches of tribes the following deserve mention: Nabedache, Nacogdoche, and Neche of the Hasinai confederacy; Orejone, Pachalague, Pakawa, Pamaque and Pampopa of the Coahuiltecan family; Sana, Tankawa and Yojuane of the Tonkawan linguistic family; Tawakoni, Tawehash, Waco and Wichita of the Wichita confederacy. Biographical sketches of Quana Parker, Satanta, and Satank or Sctangya are supplied. Special mention is deserved by the sketches of the missions. At first mention one is surprised to find them in a volume of this kind; upon closer examination, however, one finds that it is the first attempt to treat them in the proper environment. They have so long been known as "The Spanish missions" that their true character as Indian missions has been obscured. The article on the term "Texas"—its meaning, its use by the Indians and by early writers and later by Spanish officials—is the best discussion of the subject in print.

E. W. W.

*The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration.* By Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, Ph. D. Sometime Fellow and Assistant in History in Yale University, etc. Philadelphia: (Reprinted from *German American Annals*, Vol. VII, 1909), 1910, p. 161, 8vo. 4 maps.

The opening chapter presents a brief survey of the great outpouring of German emigrants from Europe to America during 1815-1848. Some attention is given to the causes of this movement and to the character of the emigrants. Chapter II emphasizes the fact that Germans participated in the Texan revolution, and gives a brief account of those settling in Texas before 1844. The remainder of the book is devoted almost exclusively to a sketch of the "Mainzer Adelsverein" or German Emigration Company and to the early history of its colonists. Chapter III discusses the origin and objects of the "Mainzer Adelsverein," and recites the history of its efforts to colonize a large number of Germans in Texas. In Chapters IV to VII are discussed the probable number of Germans in Texas, their industries, their character and mode of life, their relations with their American neighbors, their attitude toward slavery and secession, and the cultural agencies preserved by these immigrants.

The book is marked by a number of imperfections. Very annoying to the reader, and inexcusable in the publisher, are the numerous typographical errors; for example, "La Bohia" (p. 13), "Navasoto" (p. 14), "Grossmeyer" (p. 15), "Roedel" for Roeder (p. 16), etc. The author, perhaps, is to be charged with the persistent use of *New Braunfels Zeitung* for *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*, Olmsted's *Texas Journeys* for *Texas Journey*,<sup>1</sup> and "Guadaloupe" for Guadalupe. The book has no index. It is not as broad in its scope as the title suggests; Germans residing outside of Comal county, Gillespie county and the city of San Antonio are scarcely considered, and the history of those in the places mentioned is not traced beyond 1870.

The author's treatment of a portion of his subject is open to the broad objection that he did not use all the sources he should have used. The work is apparently well fortified with references at every point, but a careful scrutiny of the references will show

<sup>1</sup>This is the binder's title for Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas*.

how unsatisfactory they are in many cases. Moreover, the entire subject has been treated too much as if it were ancient history; the fact that the streets of New Braunfels intersect at right angles is repeated several times, likewise the number of tailors, shoemakers, etc., who had shops there. As an example of the author's failure to use all the proper sources, attention is called to his discussion of the political alignment of the Germans during 1854 and 1855 (pages 85-89); not one direct reference is made to a German Texas newspaper. Another example is the discussion of the Germans and abolitionism (pages 96-105). The editorial conduct of Dr. Adolf Douai of the *San Antonio Zeitung* is discussed at length, and excerpts are made from the *San Antonio Ledger*, the *State Gazette* and the *San Antonio Herald*, a Know-Nothing organ, but no reference is made to the columns of Dr. Douai's paper or to any other German paper published in Texas at that time. Another instance is the account of the attack on the German refugees on the Nueces river, August 10, 1862; the author cites Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. X, but appears not to have seen the account by John W. Sansom, one of the survivors, mentioned in *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 110.

With all its imperfections, the book is the only recent work in English on the subject. The author had a proper appreciation of his task. His conclusions are usually correct. The book has an extensive bibliography (pages 133-139).

W.

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Volume 9 of the *Transactions of the Texas Academy of Science* for 1908 and 1909 has just been issued. It contains 105 pages. Among the articles of general interest may be mentioned the paper by Dr. H. L. Hilgartner on the "Life, character and works of Professor J. W. McLaughlin" (pp. 69-77).

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Professor Garrison's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas* has been completed by the publication during the summer of Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908. Volume II is in two parts and numbers 1617 pages. More extended notice of these important volumes will appear in a later number of *THE QUARTERLY*.

## AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

In the January number THE QUARTERLY will begin the publication of the letters of William Kennedy and Captain Charles Elliot to the British government concerning Texas during 1842-1845. Kennedy came to Texas in January, 1842, as a semi-official agent of Lord Aberdeen, and claimed to have been instrumental in inducing the Texan senate to ratify the slave-trade treaty with England. He returned later to be British consul at Galveston. Captain Elliot arrived in the summer of 1842 as chargé d'affaires of Great Britain, and remained until Texas accepted annexation to the United States in 1845. Both were keen observers, and their letters are most important sources for phases of the foreign relations of Texas. The letters will form a valuable supplement to Professor Garrison's three volumes of *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, just issued by the American Historical Association. The letters are being copied from the British Public Record Office by the instruction of Professor Ephraim D. Adams, of Leland Stanford University, who will edit them for THE QUARTERLY.

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The Association has received as a gift from Mr. Harvey T. D. Wilson, of Houston, an interesting pamphlet of twelve pages printed in Houston in 1855. It is a memorial of Robert Wilson, father of the donor, to the Legislature in 1855 asking damages for the destruction of valuable property at Harrisburg when Santa Anna burned that town in 1836. The property is described as consisting of "an extensive steam saw-mill, gristmill, a store, dwelling houses, blacksmith, carpenter, turning and woodshops, and houses for the workmen. . . . The mill was of the best and most substantial character—able to cut, easily from 5 to 7m. feet per day, and grind 100 or more bushels of corn in the same time. . . . [This establishment] furnished lumber to the colonists, and to the Mexican coast-ports as well: it supplied very many with bread: by means of its workshops of various kinds, it extended facilities to the colonists to be had nowhere else in the country. It was looked to as the great evidence of the prosperity, growth, and *stability* of Austin's colony."

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## THE TEXAN DECLARATION OF CAUSES FOR TAKING UP ARMS AGAINST MEXICO

EUGENE C. BARKER

Comparison of the Texas revolt of 1835-1836 with the American Revolution reveals in many particulars a close parallelism between the two. This is especially striking in the divided state of public opinion which in both cases preceded, as well as accompanied and followed, the resort to arms, and in the method of procedure adopted for organizing resistance. But perhaps, after all, the existence of such parallelism is less remarkable than its absence would be, for in each case the defendants were Anglo-Americans, and in each the fundamental cause of revolt was the same—a sudden effort of the supreme government to enforce laws long forgotten or disregarded and to extend in local affairs an imperial administration to which the colonists were strangers. Sober historians have swept away the haze of political oratory which once obscured the causes of the American Revolution and have found them less grievous than ardent patriots formerly imagined, but even historians do not question the naturalness of the revolt. No doubt the actual grievances of the Texans were less serious than their Patrick Henries and Samuel Adamses believed them to be, but with all due allowance for their conscious and unconscious exaggeration of the evils threatened by Mexico, human nature being as it is, the Texas revolution was natural enough. That American his-

torians of the past generation failed to recognize this may be ascribed to the persistent influence of the slavery question, with which Texas was from 1836 to 1850 so intimately connected in national politics of the United States.

In a slight degree the Texan declaration of causes for taking up arms illustrates one of the parallels suggested. On November 3, 1835, the "Consultation of the chosen delegates of all Texas" began its sessions at San Felipe de Austin. Called for the purpose of unifying public opinion, and of devising ways of preserving peace with honor or of preparing for war, this body found itself in a situation which reminds one of the Second Continental Congress when it assembled at Philadelphia in 1775. Hostilities had already begun, a volunteer band of colonists was marching against the Mexican troops at San Antonio, and the Consultation faced the task of justifying war and of discovering means for waging it vigorously. The preceding summer had seen the development of a small war party in Texas which hailed the outbreak with satisfaction, but most of the colonists were reluctant to abandon the ways of peace, and many thought the breach premature and ill-advised—premature because it was not yet certain that Santa Anna's reform of the national constitution would injure Texas;<sup>1</sup> and ill-timed because, whereas Santa Anna was being opposed at the time by a considerable party of liberals (the Federalists) in Mexico, the rising of the alien Texans would easily be interpreted as a movement toward secession, and that, as a matter which touched the national pride, would unite all parties against them. The declaration of November 7 was, therefore, a strategic document, designed on the one hand to justify the war in the eyes of the Texans and of an impartial world, and on the other to convince the Mexican Federalists that the Texans

<sup>1</sup>On August 8, 1835, a public meeting of the district of San Jacinto adopted resolutions drawn by David G. Burnet in which it was declared, "We consider *names* as the mere signification of things:—and . . . we are not so obstinately prejudiced in favor of the term, 'federal republic' as peremptorily and without inquiry to reject another Government purely because it has assumed a different external sign or denomination. . . . There are certain essential, sacred and imprescriptible rights which must be guaranteed to every citizen, . . . we believe those rights may be as well secured under a consolidated as under a federative government, provided that government be wisely and liberally organized."—*The Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

desired only to preserve from destruction the republican constitution of 1824. At the same time it represented a compromise between the war party, which desired an outright declaration of independence, and the conservatives, who believed that the time for that had not arrived.

Dr. Branch T. Archer was elected president of the Consultation, and his inaugural address, which conformed very closely to a list of suggestions which Stephen F. Austin had drawn up and sent from the army, declared that "The *first* measure that will be brought before the house, will be a declaration in which we will set forth to the world the *causes* which have impelled us to take up arms, and the *objects* for which we fight." A hint of the tone which the President expected the declaration to take can be gathered from his concluding words, "I do not view the cause in which we are engaged, as that of freemen fighting alone against military despotism; I do not view it as Texas battling alone for her rights and her liberties; I view it in a nobler, more exalted light. I view it as the great work of laying the corner stone of liberty *in the great Mexican republic.*"<sup>1</sup> A committee of twelve, one from each district, represented in the Consultation was accordingly appointed to draft a declaration as the President proposed.<sup>2</sup> John A. Wharton was chairman of this committee and it numbered among its members General Sam Houston.

The committee soon found that its task involved a preliminary settlement of the fundamental question of whether Texas was fighting for independence or in defense of the constitution, and the members, unable to agree among themselves, forced the de-

<sup>1</sup>*Journals of the Consultation*, 7, 9. Austin's memorandum (a copy), with a letter accompanying it, is in the archives of the State Department of Texas, Records, Vol. 3, pp. 24-25. It is summarized below, pages 178-179. The importance of the document lies in the fact that it shaped Archer's inaugural speech, to which the Consultation in all its work adhered very closely. The italics in the above sentence are the writer's.

<sup>2</sup>*Journals of the Consultation*, 12. The committee consisted of John A. Wharton of the jurisdiction of Columbia, William Menefee of San Felipe, R. R. Royall of Matagorda, Lorenzo de Zavala of Harrisburg, Asa Mitchell of Washington, W. S. Fisher of Gonzales, R. M. Williamson of Mina, Sam Houston of Nacogdoches, A. Houston of San Augustine, Wyatt Hanks of Bevil, Henry Millard of Liberty, and S. T. Allen of Viesca.

cision upon the house by asking for instructions.<sup>1</sup> The subject occupied the attention of the Consultation almost exclusively for three days, but the journal gives little indication of the content of the debates. On the morning of the 4th Wharton and Williamson, of the committee, made "lengthy and able" speeches in favor of independence.<sup>2</sup> In reply Daniel Parker of Nacogdoches "on motion was permitted to offer a plan of such a declaration as he thought the house should make which on motion of Saml Houston was laid on the table to be referred to the committee on the subject."<sup>3</sup> The manuscript minutes indicate that Parker favored a declaration in favor of the constitution, but no copy of his plan is preserved. R. R. Royall followed Parker and read a communication from General Austin giving the latter's views upon the course which the Consultation should pursue in providing a provisional government for Texas. This also was referred to the committee.<sup>4</sup> After a speech by Martin Parmer<sup>5</sup> of Tenaha in favor of independence, and one by J. D. Clements of Gonzales in support of the constitution,<sup>6</sup> Dr. Everett of Bevil offered a resolution which he said "had for its object the bringing the discussion to a point and to avoid a protracted debate."<sup>7</sup> What the resolution was or what parliamentary action it evoked we are not told. The secretary stopped in the middle of the sentence to record the interesting item that the assembly "adjourned till two o'clock p. m.," and the words already written were marked out with a cross. Perhaps Everett felt sufficiently heartened by his

<sup>1</sup>A fragment of the minutes of the Consultation (MS. in the State Library of Texas) says that the committee reported on the 4th "that they had had said subject under consideration and that the committee were divided and therefore referred the subject to the consideration of the whole house." . . . The printed journal merely says (p. 16) that the committee made a report.

<sup>2</sup>MS. fragment. That they spoke in favor of independence is indicated by the letter "i" after their names. Speakers for the constitution were indicated by a "c." The printed journal makes no mention of these speeches.

<sup>3</sup>MS. fragment. The printed journal, under date of the 5th, says only (p. 17) that "Mr. Parker obtained the floor and addressed the house on the subject before it." The 4th, as given in the manuscript, seems to be the correct date.

<sup>4</sup>MS. fragment. The printed journal does not mention this.

<sup>5</sup>The manuscript calls him Palmer.

<sup>6</sup>MS. fragment.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

luncheon to endure the debate with resignation and withdrew the resolution. Concerning the discussion during the afternoon, the manuscript source says only that "Mr. John A. Wharton took the floor and in a lengthy speech urged the necessity to declare Texas independent of Mexico," and the printed journal tells us nothing.

An important addition to the journal of this day's proceedings is afforded by a letter from Gail Borden, Jr., to Stephen F. Austin.<sup>1</sup> Writing on the 5th, Borden said

. . . . Yesterday, however, the day was principally occupied in discussion on the resolution offered by Mr. Wharton appointing a Committee "to make a declaration to the world setting forth the reasons for which we take up arms etc." Though the discussion was lengthy and animated yet coolness and moderation pervaded throughout the debate.

Your opinion as to what you believed should be the course to pursue was introduced as well as several plans all of which were referred to the Committee on the subject. Whatever may be the decision it will be *unanimous*. My opinion, however, is that a large majority will declare for the principles of the Constitution of 1824—Unanimity and good feeling I believe is the order of the day—and I trust all will go well. . . .

Had a conversation with Genl Houston today. I believe he has the interest of our country at heart; he made the best speech yesterday I have ever heard; the whole tenour of it went to harmonize the feelings of the people and to produce unanimity of sentiment.

The discussion was resumed on the 5th and consumed the entire day. Mr. Barrett of Mina replied to Wharton in favor of a declaration for the constitution, and was given leave to submit in writing further views, which were referred to the committee. J. W. Robinson of Nacogdoches spoke "at length" in favor of independence, and J. B. Wood of Liberty for the constitution. General Houston on this day was seized with a desire to close the debate, as Dr. Everett had been on the 4th, and offered a resolution that the committee be instructed "to draw a declaration in favor of the constitution of 1824," but this he withdrew in deference to the opposition of Mr. Wharton. The day closed with a speech from the President, who was called from the chair to give

<sup>1</sup>Austin Papers.

his opinion of "the character of the declaration which should be adopted as a foundation for a provisional government." What his opinion was is not stated, but it is safe to infer from his inaugural address that it was conservative.<sup>1</sup>

By the 6th the majority were evidently becoming impatient. Williamson was refused permission to read his "plan on which to found a provisional government," but it was referred to the committee. Wharton next gained leave only by the casting vote of the President "to offer some further remarks on his report"; and after Mr. Royall had read from Vattel in reply to him, Mr. Mitchell of Washington stopped the discussion by moving the previous question. The vote was suspended, however, until the President could explain the question to members who had recently arrived, and at the close of his remarks Williamson again begged and obtained leave to read his plan. The voting followed on the question as phrased by General Houston, "All in favor of a provisional government, upon the principles of the constitution of 1824, will say aye." The result was thirty-three ayes and fourteen noes. The question was then put in another form, "All in favor of a declaration of independence will say aye," and upon this the vote was fifteen ayes and thirty-three noes. Wharton opposed entering the ayes and noes on the journal, and they were omitted.<sup>2</sup>

Having received its instructions, the committee retired to frame its report. It had before it, as we know, at least four plans, those of Parker, Austin, Barrett, and Williamson—three peace party men, and one in favor of the constitution. Of Parker's plan we have no copy. Austin's advised that a declaration be made in favor of the constitution of 1824; that a provisional local government be organized, with the statement that Texas was now separate from Coahuila but that the existing laws of Coahuila and Texas would as far as possible be provisionally retained until more deliberate action could be taken; that the faith of the state be pledged to obtain means for pushing the war "in defence of the constitution and Federal System"; that land claims of the

<sup>1</sup>For this day's proceedings see *Journals of the Consultation*, 16-17.

<sup>2</sup>For this day's proceedings see *Ibid.*, 18-19.

Indians be guaranteed in order to keep them quiet; that fraudulent land grants made by the legislature since 1833 be annulled; that a courier service be established; and that the militia be organized and steps taken to raise a regular army.<sup>1</sup> Austin thought this "the Full Extent which . . . the Consultation ought to go." It, in fact, almost exactly covered the work which the Consultation did do, and it no doubt had great influence in determining the majority to declare for the constitution, but in shaping the content and phraseology of the final declaration it had apparently little further effect.

Barrett's draft falls into the three familiar divisions of the American declaration of independence from Great Britain in 1776, and suggests that in form, consciously or unconsciously, its author fashioned it after that document. The first section states a theory of government, and declares that a military dictator has evinced a determination to overthrow this form of government, which the constitution of 1824 recognizes; the second submits facts to prove the evil intention of the dictator; and the third declares the objects for which the Texans fight. Concerning the nature of government, Barrett says that the Americans, who are "a free and thinking people," "consider all government as originating from, and made for the people." The dictator's determination to subvert this form of government is exemplified

1st. By attempting forcibly to adopt a central form of government, contrary to the principles of the constitution of 1824.

2nd. By attempting to subject the civil to the military powers.

3rd. By establishing fortifications and sending military forces to compel obedience to a form of government and laws made without the consent of the people.

4th. By demanding our citizens, charged with civil offences, to be surrendered to military commandants.

5th. By annoying, and endeavoring to destroy our trade.

6th. By arresting and confining the civil Governor and Legislature of our independent State.

9th. And by many acts indicating a determined hostility to

<sup>1</sup>Copy. Archives of the State Department of Texas, Records, Vol. 3, pp. 24-25.

all the colonists and to destroy all confidence in constitutional protection, and all natural rights of our citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore the colonists were fighting to preserve their constitutional rights, "to put down the usurped power which has trampled them under foot," and to restore to full operation the constitution and laws. In this they were not the aggressors, for "it is our duty to defend our inalienable rights against all who attempt to subvert our Liberties, although citizens of the same country." This portion of Barrett's paper is rambling, and contains some repetitions, but the declaration for the constitution is unequivocal. "We declare and resolve to support the constitution of 1824," and for this purpose the people wanted to "unite with the friends of Liberty among Mexican fellow citizens in the same glorious object." Barrett advised the calling of a second Consultation at a later date, and in the meantime urged the formation of a provisional government "with certain and defined powers." If he suspected that a more radical policy might become necessary, it is only revealed in an invitation to the inhabitants of the Department of Bexar to participate in the support of a provisional government "until circumstances require further action."<sup>2</sup>

Barrett's plan was entirely in harmony with Austin's ideas of what ought to be done, and it seems to have had considerable influence in shaping the declaration.

Williamson's draft is interesting as the blunt statement of a man who favored a declaration of independence, but tried to tone down the expression of his real feelings to meet the wishes of a squeamish majority. Starting with the premise that the Texans are "Anglo Americans," "a free born and reflecting people," who "believe that all government originates with, and resides in the *people*," and that they entered the territory of Mexico under a constitution which guaranteed such government, the writer declares that "without their privity or Consent That Only form of Government known and acknowledged by them has been changed"; there-

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to compare with this enumeration of abuses the "Facts" "submitted to a candid world" by the American Declaration of Independence.

<sup>2</sup>Copy. Archives of the State Department of Texas, Records, Vol. 3, pp. 16-17.

fore "eight thousand" men are in arms "in support of the principles embraced in the Constitution of the Republic of Mexico of 1824." They were fighting for "Constitutional Liberty" against "the consolidated forces [of the] Mexican Empire." And they declared themselves, therefore, "separate from, and Independent of That form of Government that at present exists in Mexico."<sup>1</sup> Notice that Williamson would fight only for the principles of the constitution of 1824, and that while declaring Texas independent of the existing government he refrains from committing it to any other Mexican government.

There is a fourth document, endorsed in the hand of the secretary of the Consultation, "Declaration of General Consultation." It is not the declaration, however, that was finally adopted, and the journal gives no hint that it was ever presented to the Consultation. It was written by the same hand as Williamson's draft, and, with a word changed here and there, is the same as Williamson's except for three additional paragraphs. These paragraphs are prefixed to the Williamson document. The first one declares that the form of government acknowledged by the Texans has been overthrown, the "social compact creating the confederacy of Mexican States virtually dissolved,"<sup>2</sup> and that the Texans resort to their "natural right" upon the principle of self-preservation. The second declares that the people of Texas "are no longer bound to adhere to a people that have changed that form of government created by the compact of 1824 of which Tejas formed an integral part." And the third expresses the reliance of the Texans upon the generosity of civilized nations to sustain them against military despotism.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this was an alternative draft submitted by Williamson to the committee. The prefatory paragraphs contributed to the phraseology of the final declaration.

At the close of the afternoon's session of November 6 Wharton

<sup>1</sup>Consultation MS. Texas State Library. This document is signed "Williamson," and is endorsed. "Referred to Comt of 12."

<sup>2</sup>Although the constitution of 1824 did deliberately establish a federal system, the historically fallacious character of the social contract as a theory of government has probably never been more obvious than in the government of Mexico from Cortes to the present.

<sup>3</sup>Consultation MS. Texas State Library.

reported progress from his committee. At the opening of the session next morning he "obtained leave to retire for a few minutes, with the committee of which he was chairman," and upon his return presented the committee's report. According to the journal, it was taken up by sections, and, with a single amendment, each section was adopted unanimously. The amendment inserted the word "republican" before "principles of the federal constitution of Mexico" in the first section.<sup>1</sup> As completed, the declaration was as follows:

DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF TEXAS IN GENERAL CONVENTION  
ASSEMBLED

*Whereas*, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, and other military chieftains, have, by force of arms, overthrown the federal institutions of Mexico, and dissolved the social compact which existed between Texas and the other members of the Mexican confederacy; now the good people of Texas, availing themselves of their natural rights.<sup>2</sup>

SOLEMNLY DECLARE,

1st. That they have taken up arms in defence of their rights and liberties, which were threatened by the encroachments of military despots, and in defence of the republican<sup>3</sup> principles of the federal constitution of Mexico, of eighteen and twenty-four.<sup>4</sup>

2d. That Texas is no longer morally or civilly bound by the compact of union; yet, stimulated by the generosity and sympathy common to a free people, they offer their support and assistance to such of the members of the Mexican confederacy as will take up arms against military despotism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Journals of the Consultation*, 20-21.

<sup>2</sup>With this preamble compare the first paragraph of the fourth document mentioned above: "Whereas, That form of government known and acknowledged by and subscribed to by the people of Texas has been overthrown by the military; and Whereas the social compact creating the confederacy of Mexican States is virtually dissolved the people of Tejas declare that they assume the exercise of their natural right and upon the great principle of self-preservation they assert to the world that they will sustain acquired rights in Mexico."

<sup>3</sup>This word was inserted by amendment.

<sup>4</sup>With this compare the third paragraph of Barrett's draft: "The violation of this constitution and laws, and the attempt to subvert them by a military dictator, and the consequent determination to subject our citizens against their will or consent to another form of government, are the reasons for our resistance and for resorting to arms."

<sup>5</sup>Compare the second paragraph of number four: "The people of Tejas

3d. That they do not acknowledge that the present authorities of the nominal Mexican republic have the right to govern within the limits of Texas.<sup>1</sup>

4th. That they will not cease to carry on war against the said authorities whilst their troops are within the limits of Texas.<sup>2</sup>

5th. That they hold it to be their right during the disorganization of the federal system, and the reign of despotism, to withdraw from the union, to establish an independent government, or to adopt such measures as they may deem best calculated to protect their rights and liberties, but that they will continue faithful to the Mexican government so long as that nation is governed by the constitution and laws that were formed for the government of the political association.

6th. That Texas is responsible for the expenses of her armies now in the field.

7th. That the public faith of Texas is pledged for the payment of any debts contracted by her agents.

8th. That she will reward, by donations in lands, all who volunteer their services in her present struggle, and receive them as citizens.<sup>3</sup>

These declarations we solemnly avow to the world, and call God to witness their truth and sincerity, and invoke defeat and disgrace upon our heads, should we prove guilty of duplicity.<sup>4</sup>

One of the eight articles of the declaration was drawn from Williamson's draft; two were taken from Number 4, which was probably another form of Williamson's draft; two were from Barrett, a peace party man; and the three final paragraphs were suggested by the president's inaugural address.

A thousand copies of the declaration were ordered printed, and upon the motion of General Houston it was ordered on the 8th

declare that they are no longer bound to adhere to a people that have changed that form of Government created by the compact of 1824 of which Tejas formed an integral part."

<sup>1</sup>Compare the ninth section of Williamson's plan: "They declare that they are separate from, and Independent of That form of Government that at present exists in Mexico."

<sup>2</sup>Compare Barrett's: "We declare and resolve that we will *never* while a free American can raise a weapon in Texas, suffer its soil to be polluted by the usurper or his myrmidons, and that we will trust to our arms, a just cause—the sympathy and justice of Nations, and our omnipotent God, for certain success in all we claim."

<sup>3</sup>The last three resolutions seem to have been suggested by the President's inaugural address. See *Journals* of the Consultation, 7-8.

<sup>4</sup>*Journals* of the Consultation, 21-22.

that all members who were present at its passage should sign it immediately, while those who were not then present should sign it later at their convenience.<sup>1</sup> We have no original, and the names are omitted from the printed copy. From the manuscript source we learn that after the adoption of the declaration nearly the whole of the 7th was spent in discussing it. This suggests that the unanimity with which it was passed may have been less hearty than the laconic record of the printed journal indicates. Perhaps it was this discussion which prompted Houston's motion that every member should sign the declaration.

The fact is that the independence party succeeded in giving the declaration a brusquer tone than their numerical strength in the Consultation warranted. Though there was probably no intention to make it so, the second article had a patronizing ring which a sensitive Mexican could hardly fail to resent; and the fifth article was in effect a conditional declaration of independence. Stephen F. Austin was disappointed by the ambiguous character of the document. He thought that it tended "fully as much to independence as to adhesion to the constitution of 1824," and he foresaw that Santa Anna would take advantage of it to give the war a national, racial character. And in this Austin did not give full expression to his opinion of the shortcomings of the declaration.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Journals of the Consultation*, 22-23.

<sup>2</sup>Original draft of a letter from Austin to the Provisional Government in the Austin Papers. This is not dated, but there is a copy in the archives of the State Department of Texas, Records, Vol. 3, pp. 157-159, dated December 3. The original so well illustrates the characteristic cautiousness of Austin, and at the same time suggests the sensitive nature of the subject, that two paragraphs are quoted with their erasures and interlineations inserted in brackets:

. . . "Should the Govt. succeed in giving to this war a national character, as they are attempting, Texas will have to contend against the whole nation united against her. That such a character will be given to it is probable—in fact it is almost certain, for the reason that the declaration made by the Genl Consultation [admits of] tends [more] fully as much to independence [than to] as to adhesion to the constitution of 1824—[and whether fortunately or some most]—some of the subsequent measures [especially the imp] have the same tendency. The manner [that] in which Govr Viesca and Col Gonzales [etc were recd. at have been were] have been recd. [at Goliad etc] will also have its effect [in short the debates and opinions expressed in favor of independence and the general impression that has gone abroad that independence was the object] the organization of a local Govt. without a

A question naturally arises concerning the sincerity of the thirty-three members who voted against a declaration of independence. No direct evidence can be adduced on this point, but it seems fairly certain that they did not perceive any material conflict between their position and the sentiments expressed in the declaration of November 7. The peace party men, no less than the independence men, were firmly resolved not to submit to certain measures that Santa Anna seemed bent upon carrying out. And, in a sense, the declaration said no more than just that. The truth is that the logic of the situation was against the adherents of the constitution of 1824. That had already been superseded on October 3, by decree of the Mexican Congress, and little could be said to soften the indisputable fact that the Texans were in arms against the recognized government of Mexico. With all his sincere desire for peace, John Dickinson in 1775 did not succeed in materially modifying Jefferson's trenchant "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms" against great Britain,<sup>1</sup> and few believed after the battle of Lexington that there was for the American colonist any other alternative than submission or resistance. In November, 1835, the Texan colonists had reached the same *impasse* with Mexico.

clear and positive declaration that it was done as a member of the Mexican confederation under the constitution of 1824 and law of 7 May of that year will be perverted by our enemies [to mean that] to mean a different thing from what was intended. In short the impression has gone abroad that independence is the object, and the only object of Texas—This being the case [the] there is at least every probability [is great] that the Texas war will assume [a natio] the character which the Govt of Mexico are endeavoring to give to it, and that all parties will unite against us.

It is perhaps [out of place] too late now to inquire whether a different course and a more rigid adherence to the constitution of 1824, [and to the] and organization as a member of the Mexican confederation without any ambiguity, would or would not have [been more promoted comported much] been the true and [only] proper course for Texas—I believe it would, but the time [Here Austin stopped abruptly, and deleted the whole of this paragraph.]

<sup>1</sup>See *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Ford Ed.), II, 128-157.

## MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG THE EASTERN APACHES PREVIOUS TO THE FOUNDING OF THE SAN SABA MISSION

WILLIAM EDWARD DUNN

### I. THE APACHES IN TEXAS, 1718-1750

From our modern viewpoint we are able to see many causes for the comparative failure of the Spanish system in New Spain. Undoubtedly her exclusive commercial policy, discouraging trade between different parts of her own dominions, her strict and somewhat tyrannical methods of government, and her exploitation of her colonial dominions for the benefit of the home country were largely responsible for her ultimate lack of success in the New World. But the chief causes for this failure, perhaps, were those general conditions for which Spain can not be held accountable, and which would have hindered to an equal degree the efforts of any other colonizing nation in similar circumstances. And one of the most unfavorable of these conditions was the hostility of the natives in the various regions in which Spanish institutions were established.

The truth of this is seen by a study of the region which is now included in the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The varying degrees of success in permanent establishments in the different areas is explained chiefly by the differences in the Indians of the respective sections. In California, for instance, the Spanish system reached a high stage of development, while in Texas, where efforts were begun more than a century earlier, there was little to show after two centuries of labor. In California, the natives were indolent and sluggish, indisposed to warfare; in most of Texas the reverse was true. The fact that the Indians in the greater portion of Texas could never be permanently subjugated and reduced to mission life explains in large measure the comparative failure of Spanish establishments there. To be sure, there were a few small tribes in southwestern Texas which were peaceably inclined, but this was due to their weakness

and insignificance. The large tribes were all independent and self-assertive, and steadfastly refused to bow to the will of the Spaniards, although they often treacherously pretended to do so.

The chief difficulty with which the Spaniards of the eighteenth century had to deal in western Texas was the hostility of the Apaches.<sup>1</sup> From the founding of San Antonio in 1718 we may date the real beginning of this scourge. Hatred against the white man had been aroused at the first coming of the Spaniards when they had assisted the enemies of the Apaches, but it was not until San Antonio was founded that any definite and convenient point of attack had been available. The many raids upon the *presidio* thereafter revealed the fact that the Apaches were a dangerous factor in the life of the settlement.

Recognizing this truth, the Marqués de Aguayo, on his expedition of 1721-1722, tried to make friends with the Apaches, but conciliatory measures were of no avail. The multiplied raids in 1723 forced Captain Nicolás Flores to make a formal campaign against them, but on account of the distance at which they lived and the weak condition of the *presidio*, small permanent good came from this expedition, although it is true that for a few years depredations were less violent.

In 1731, however, the Apaches renewed their attacks and became so troublesome that in the following year a well organized campaign was undertaken against them by Governor Bustillo y Zevallos. The Indians suffered a severe defeat on the San Sabá River, and a treaty of peace was made with them. Their bad faith was soon evident, for almost immediately thereafter San Antonio again suffered a series of raids and massacres unparalleled in previous years.

Some feeble efforts for defense were made by the viceregal government in Mexico. Joseph de Urrutia, a noted Indian fighter, was appointed captain of Béxar, and preparations were made to teach the Apaches a lasting lesson. The usual procrastination followed, however, and, although there was no cessation of attacks by the Indians, it was not until 1739 that another formal expedition got under way. Several campaigns were made from 1740 to

<sup>1</sup>The remainder of this section is a summary of my article on "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," in THE QUARTERLY, XIV, 199-274.

1747, but as several of them were undertaken largely for the purpose of obtaining servants they served only to arouse the further enmity of the Apaches.

But what campaigns and conciliatory measures had failed to accomplish was gradually being brought about by pressure upon the Apaches of their arch enemies, the Comanches. As the latter pushed down into the territory occupied by the Lipans (Apaches), these once proud and haughty Indians were forced to turn to the hated whites for protection. In 1749 a great peace was concluded with the tribes to the northeast of San Antonio, and the Apaches assured the Spaniards that they wished to live in *pueblos* under the instruction of the missionaries. With the conclusion of this treaty, the prospects for the conversion and reduction of the Lipans began to seem probable, and renewed efforts were made to accomplish this end.

## II. MISSIONARY EFFORTS BEFORE 1752

1. *Summary of Progress up to 1749.*—So far as the available records show, only three definite proposals for missionary work among the Apaches in Texas had been made previous to 1743. In 1723 and 1724, Father González, stationed at the San Antonio missions, had tried to conciliate them and bring about their conversion. In 1725 Father Hidalgo had asked for permission to go alone to their country and work for their salvation. And in 1733 Father Vergara, recognizing the importance of their reduction, had urged that missions be given them. It was ten years before another proposal was made. In March, 1743, Father Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, president of the San Antonio missions, sent a messenger to the viceroy bearing communications in which he urged that immediate steps be taken for the conversion of the Apaches. On account of the hostile attitude of the Comanches and their increased pressure upon the Apaches, the latter, he believed, would welcome the protection of the Spaniards, and a *presidio* in their midst would not only free San Antonio from their hostilities, but would also enable a rich mineral region to be opened up. The captain of Béxar had just sent in a petition asking for permission to make a new campaign against the Apaches, and, owing to the conflicting statements concerning the peaceful disposition

of the Apaches, no decisive action was taken by the authorities. In 1745 Father Santa Ana renewed his petition, and now proposed to place *presidios* on the San Sabá, Pedernales, Salado, and Colorado Rivers, by which action he was convinced that not only the Apaches but also the Comanches themselves would be converted. Several requests for missions had, indeed, already been made by the Apaches, but the military authorities at San Antonio declared that this friendliness was only a ruse by which to regain their captive kinsmen taken in various campaigns. The missionaries continued to believe in the sincerity of the Indians, however, and succeeded in inducing the captain of the *presidio* to pursue a conciliatory policy. In March, 1749, messengers from the Apaches assured the Spaniards that they wished to be friends and would no longer trouble the settlement. True to their word, depredations did cease, and even the soldiers were forced to believe that the Indians intended to keep their promises. The continued friendly intercourse led at length to the very important step of releasing the captives, who were freed in the latter part of November.<sup>1</sup>

2. *The Guadalupe River Plan.*<sup>2</sup>—On September 24, 1749, a party of Apaches who constituted a portion of the Indians with whom the missionaries had been treating since August, visited San Antonio, and asked to be allowed to live in the missions there. Father Mariano de los Dolores, who, in the absence of Father Santa Ana, was in charge of Mission Valero, was convinced that the time for definite action had arrived. Although, on account of lack of provisions and fear of the consequences that might follow from the association of the converted with the unconverted Indians, he could not accede to this particular request, he was unwilling to postpone the matter further, and resolved to attempt an establishment, if only a temporary one, upon the Guadalupe River. The idea of founding a mission on this stream now became a pet scheme cherished by Father Dolores for many years and for which

<sup>1</sup>*Autos* of Urrutia, November 28, 1749, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 122-213. Domingo Cabello fixes the date of the release as August 18, but subsequent investigations have shown that this was a mistake, and that the prisoners did not receive their freedom until November 28. (See THE QUARTERLY, XIV, 261-262.)

<sup>2</sup>The documents on which this paper is based are in the private collection of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton.

he later intrigued, it was alleged, in a manner not entirely creditable. The priest explained to the Indians that it would be impossible for them to live at San Antonio, and that until they should give undoubted proof of their sincerity, no establishment could be given them in their own country. He promised, however, that as soon as permission could be obtained from the viceroy a mission would be founded for them on the Guadalupe.

In support of his plan Father Dolores explained to Captain Urrutia the advantages of the proposed site. No garrison would be necessary, since those of San Antonio and San Xavier could quickly suppress any revolt at the first signs of inquietude. Indeed, a revolt would not be a serious matter, for it could be easily quelled by a campaign, which would serve the double purpose of punishing the Apaches and of obtaining workers for the new missions. He did not expect such an occurrence, however, in view of the peaceful state of the natives. But the bright prospects might be spoiled if haste were not made; for it was even then rumored that the Apaches had formed an alliance with the Kado-dacho Indians, through whom, if precautions were not taken, they might become friends of the French. In view of these conditions, and since the Apaches were anxious to congregate, the good father believed that Captain Urrutia would be warranted in asking the viceroy for authority to carry out the proposed plan, and he requested the Captain to ask only that provisions should be made for founding one or two missions until it could be seen how many Indians should present themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Urrutia was loath to act solely upon the strength of Father Dolores's assertions, and when, on November 11, the priest returned from a visit to the San Xavier missions, he learned that nothing had been done in the matter. He now presented another petition, repeating many of his former arguments and citing recent developments which he thought warranted immediate action. He said that he had promised to advise the Apaches within five moons of the viceroy's determination, and that he had assured them that by that time the missions would be established.

<sup>1</sup>*Escrito* of Fray Mariano de los Dolores, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 115-117.

The Apaches, he said, would not brook any such delay as had occurred at San Xavier.<sup>1</sup>

When Dolores made his second appeal, the captives had just been released, and Captain Urrutia, as well as Father Dolores, was convinced that the time was propitious for founding the mission. In consequence, on December 1 the officer addressed a formal request to the viceroy for the establishment of a mission for the Apaches and urged that no time should be lost in carrying out the pact that had been made with them.<sup>2</sup>

The enthusiasm of the zealous ones at San Antonio as shown in the documents sent to the viceroy did not produce corresponding emotions in the officials at Mexico City. The representations of Dolores and Urrutia were sent to the auditor, Altamira, for his consideration, but he gave an opinion anything but favorable to the project. After a long discourse upon Indian affairs in America in general, he stated that, according to the documents that he had received, permission was asked to found a mission and *presidio* for a handful of Indians concerning whom nothing definite seemed to be known. A *presidio* costing more than \$20,000 a year, he curtly observed, could not be established for every petty band of Indians who manifested, perhaps only temporarily, a desire to enter missions. Until a detailed statement should be given concerning the supplies needed, the number of Indians available, the priests who would be necessary, and the site selected, no action could be taken in the matter, and he advised that Urrutia be instructed to that effect.<sup>3</sup> The viceroy ordered these suggestions transmitted to Urrutia, which was done on February 2.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, owing to the Spanish system of red tape, Father Dolores's plan came to an end for the time being. The viceroy was later given to understand that the Guadalupe plan had been abandoned on account of "certain inconveniences."<sup>5</sup> Why the matter was not further pressed we do not know. Perhaps it was because of another scheme proposed by Father Santa Ana—that of establishing a mission on the Pedernales River.

<sup>1</sup>*Escrito* of Fray Mariano de los Dolores, November 29, 1749, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 118-121.

<sup>2</sup>Urrutia to the viceroy, December 1, 1749, *Ibid.*, ff. 123-125.

<sup>3</sup>Auditor's *parecer*, January 31, 1750, *Ibid.*, ff. 125-130.

<sup>4</sup>Viceroy's decree, *Ibid.*, f. 130.

<sup>5</sup>Auditor's *parecer*, February 17, 1750, *Ibid.*, f. 134.

3. *The Pedernales River Plan.*—Father Santa Ana, president of the San Antonio missions, had resolved to undertake the long journey to Mexico City in order to make a personal plea for Apache missions. He arrived there in the latter part of 1749, or in January of the following year, and about the middle of February made a proposition differing materially from that which had been made by Father Dolores. Father Santa Ana's proposal was a radical one. Without making the usual lengthy introductory remarks in his communication to the viceroy, he asked that orders should be given for the removal of the *presidio* of San Antonio de Béxar, with its entire garrison, to the Pedernales River (or to a more distant location if necessary), in order that a Spanish *pueblo* might be formed under its protection, and that a mission might be founded for the Apaches. The site should be chosen, with the co-operation of the chiefs who wished to "congregate," at a distance of two or three leagues from the *presidio*, and there the Apaches should encamp until the actual establishment of the mission. Upon the completion of these arrangements, a detailed account should be sent to the viceroy in order that the necessary permission might be secured.<sup>1</sup>

The region in which Father Santa Ana proposed to found the mission was the mountainous section along the Pedernales River, which was then frequented by the Apaches, especially during the buffalo season. The Pedernales has been reduced in modern geographical nomenclature to the rank of a creek, but it is a stream of fairly good size, flowing into the Colorado about twenty miles northwest of Austin. The fact that this region was selected is significant, for it indicates that the missionaries were beginning to see that it was advisable for the Apaches to be given missions in their own country.

The somewhat indefinite and altogether radical nature of Father Santa Ana's proposal did not favorably impress the auditor, to whom the communication had been sent on February 13. That official immediately raised a number of objections, beginning his

<sup>1</sup>Santa Ana to the viceroy, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 131-133. The date is probably February 13, 1750. Bonilla (*Breve Compendio*, 23) says that Father Dolores proposed the Pedernales plan and later the Guadalupe plan. He has the chronology reversed and his account is very inaccurate.

observations by saying that it seemed to be expected that solely on the strength of a request unsupported by details the work of years in Texas should be undone at a single stroke. His chief criticism of the plan was the lack of protection for the citizens of San Antonio in case the *presidio* were removed; and he doubted whether there was a single family available for the proposed *pueblo*. No exact information was given about the Apaches, although sufficient time had elapsed since the beginning of the negotiations with them to obtain full particulars concerning those who wished to enter missions. Nevertheless, he deemed the matter of sufficient importance to warrant the calling of a council at San Antonio to discuss the advisability of the removal to the Pedernales, and he reported to the viceroy to this effect.<sup>1</sup>

Two days later Father Santa Ana was shown the auditor's report, which had been, as usual, accepted by the viceroy, and in reply submitted a long report, as he had promised, in justification of his plan. In this document he summarized past relations with the Apaches, and endeavored to explain fully all points to which the auditor had objected. He had suggested the use of the *presidio* of Béxar because he believed it was most suitable for the purpose, since its captain was both loved and feared by the Indians and its soldiers were competent and well paid.<sup>2</sup> He had chosen the Pedernales region because it was the gateway to the Apache country and a *pueblo* and *presidio* located there would serve the double purpose of defense and conversion. As there seemed to be much doubt in the minds of the authorities concerning the peaceful disposition of the Apaches, in spite of the many assurances that had been given to this effect by the captain of Béxar and the priests, Father Santa Ana suggested that the captain of La Bahía or the lieutenant of Santa Rosa should be sent to explore the Pedernales country and make a report upon the whole matter for the instruction of the viceroy. The College of Santa Cruz, he said, was ready to undertake the conversion of the Apaches, and he felt assured that the same success would attend their efforts as had been gained in the region between the Rio

<sup>1</sup>Auditor's *parecer*, February 13, 1750, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 133-135.

<sup>2</sup>This phrase, "well paid," can hardly be accepted unless taken in a comparative sense.

Grande and the San Xavier. The conversion of the Apaches, without doubt, would enable San Antonio to develop her many resources and would cause a wave of prosperity to spread over the whole region. Since this was generally recognized to be true, it seemed superfluous, he said, to waste time in asking the citizens to vote upon the matter, and he again begged the viceroy to give without further delay the orders necessary for the execution of his petition.<sup>1</sup>

But this letter did not convince the auditor of the wisdom of the plan; indeed, it raised new difficulties in his mind. Accordingly, he refused to take any immediate steps, and advised that the whole question should be thoroughly investigated in the *junta* to be held at San Antonio. He recommended further that the deliberations should be participated in by the lieutenant of the *presidio* of Santa Rosa and by the missionaries at San Antonio, promising that when the report of the *junta* should be received the corresponding provisions would be made.<sup>2</sup>

The order for the *junta*, together with the accompanying documents, were dispatched to Captain Urrutia on March 11,<sup>3</sup> and on June 16 that official notified Father Dolores that he and his fellow missionaries would be expected to appear in the council, which he set for the 20th of that month.<sup>4</sup>

Just at this time, unfortunately for the success of his plan, Father Santa Ana fell ill, and was compelled to retire from the presidency of the missions. He was succeeded by Father Dolores,<sup>5</sup> who at once showed his opposition to the Pedernales plan. In reply to Captain Urrutia's order summoning the priests to the *junta*, he took occasion to express his strong disapproval of the removal of the *presidio*. Although he did not doubt that beneficial results would follow the establishment of a mission in the Pedernales country, Santa Ana's scheme, he said, was impracticable for two reasons. In the first place, the inhabitants of San Antonio were extremely poor and depended upon the pay of

<sup>1</sup>Santa Ana to the viceroy, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 142-146.

<sup>2</sup>Auditor's *parecer*, February 27, 1750, *Ibid.*, ff. 147-148.

<sup>3</sup>*Razon*, *Ibid.*, f. 149.

<sup>4</sup>Urrutia to Dolores, Exorto del Capn, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Tanto de lo que se presentó, 1.

the soldiers for their support. To remove the *presidio* would be to destroy the only source of revenue possessed by the settlement. Secondly, although the Apaches in the Pedernales region might be held in check by the removal of the *presidio*, San Antonio would be left exposed to the ravages of the Julimes, Natagés, and other hostile Indians from the Rio Grande country.<sup>1</sup> Having thus given his reasons for opposing Santa Ana's plan, Father Dolores now requested that the missionaries should be excused from attending the *junta*. His ostensible objection was the loss of prestige and dignity which he believed would result to the priests from association with the citizens on a plane of equality; but he probably feared also an adverse report upon the whole question of Apache missions, and did not wish to lend the weight of the missionaries' presence to a hostile popular assembly. Even if the priests should attend the meeting, he said, their judgment would undoubtedly be overruled by the prejudiced votes of the vulgar majority, and if evil results ensued the priests would receive just as much condemnation as those really responsible for the unwise action. Important matters, he believed, should be deliberated upon by wise and experienced men, and not by the common rabble. In his judgment, the council was entirely unnecessary. Since the principal issue to be decided was the advisability of removing the *presidio*, it would only be necessary to make a general muster of the forces and weapons available for the defense of the town in order to convince the viceroy that such a step would be the greatest folly.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of Father Dolores's efforts to have the order for the *junta* revoked, the meeting was held upon the day set, and his suggestion for a muster of the defenses was disregarded.<sup>3</sup> Not only was the general opinion of the council strongly opposed to the removal of the *presidio*, but, just as Father Dolores had foreseen, it protested against any plan to found a mission for the Apaches in their own country. Instead, it was asserted that it would be more advisable to locate a mission nearer San Antonio, although, as the priest said, those who urged this step knew that

<sup>1</sup>Dolores to Urrutia, Exorto del Capn, 2-4.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 2-14.

<sup>3</sup>Memorial presentado por el R. P. Presidte., Sept. 17, 1750, 1-2.

it was impossible to induce the Apaches to leave their own land. The majority of the citizens were, from selfish motives, it was charged, really opposed to the establishment of missions for the Apaches in any form, and much evidence was introduced to show that the Indians were not yet in a condition to warrant such a step. Every possible accusation against their good faith was brought up in the *junta*, and although a formal investigation made at the request of Father Dolores disproved these charges, the conflicting reports and opinions produced the effect desired by the citizens, and caused only greater indecision on the part of the officials in Mexico, delaying still longer any definite action.<sup>1</sup> Thus the second plan for an Apache mission came to naught.

### III. THE MISSION OF SAN LORENZO

1. *A New Apostle to the Apaches.*—Although the efforts of the missionaries at San Antonio to secure the permission of the authorities for an Apache mission within that jurisdiction had failed, for the time being, in the jurisdiction of San Juan Bautista, on the Rio Grande, the necessary sanction was obtained, and an Apache mission plan was actually developed and put into operation. This mission was a logical step in the evolution of the San Sabá plan, and had much influence upon the subsequent inauguration of that enterprise.

To Father Alonzo Giraldo de Terreros is due the credit of establishing this first formal mission for the Texas Apaches.<sup>2</sup> He was a friar of much experience in the missionary field, having formerly been among the Indians of eastern Texas for several years. He had been guardian of the College of Santa Cruz at Querétaro, and was known to be one of the most zealous and devout of the Franciscans in New Spain. In February, 1752, he was appointed president of the Texas missions, to succeed Father Mariano de los Dolores, who was to be transferred to the Rio Grande district.<sup>3</sup> It seems that this order was changed, however,

<sup>1</sup>Memorial presentado por el R. P. Presidte., Sept. 17, 1750, 2-5.

<sup>2</sup>In 1750 a chief named Pastellano had applied at San Juan Bautista for a mission. A site was chosen and missionaries assigned, but the Indians deserted the first night, before it was really put into operation (Informe de los prelados, Rodríguez to the viceroy, November 12, 1772).

<sup>3</sup>The guardian to Terreros, February 18, 1752 (B. MS.).

for Father Terreros went to the Rio Grande country, while Father Dolores remained at San Antonio. Just what the facts in the case were, we do not know, but, at any rate, we find that in 1754 Terreros was minister at the mission of San Juan Bautista, working zealously for the conversion of the Apaches and confident that the labors of years were at last about to be crowned with success.

2. *The Founding of San Lorenzo.*<sup>1</sup>—The Apache bands among whom Father Terreros was laboring, were intimate relatives of those which frequented San Antonio, and, indeed, were later said to be the same Indians.<sup>2</sup> There is probably much truth in this statement, but the Indians were apparently not entirely identical. According to a communication of Don Pedro de Rábago y Theran, governor of Coahuila, addressed to the viceroy under date of June 3, 1754, the tribes represented in the mission planned by Father Terreros were the Natajés, Sibolas, and Tucubantes. Governor Rábago reported that in virtue of the treaties that had been made with these tribes, there were then encamped on both sides of the Rio Grande, near the new town of San Fernando de Austria,<sup>3</sup> more than nine hundred Indians, led by three chiefs, all of whom were "inclined" to enter missions. While he was not overconfident of their sincerity, Rábago said, he had nevertheless deemed it justifiable to maintain the Indians as "guests" until the pleasure of the viceroy could be learned. He asked, therefore, that an order should be sent to the captain of the *presidio* of San Juan Bautista instructing him to investigate the matter, in co-operation with the missionaries there.<sup>4</sup>

After having passed successively through the hands of the viceroy and the auditor, Rábago's communication was referred to Andreu, the royal fiscal. The fiscal was not very sure of the advisability of taking the matter up, for many times similar re-

<sup>1</sup>The sketch which follows is drawn from a manuscript summary made by Dr. Bolton from the original records of the founding of the mission, discovered by him in Saltillo, Mexico. But for it, this incident in the missionary history of the Texas Apaches would be almost entirely unknown.

<sup>2</sup>Rodriguez to Bustillo, March 18, 1755. in Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo," 6.

<sup>3</sup>San Fernando de Austria had been founded the year before, and was about twenty leagues from San Juan Bautista, south of the Rio Grande.

<sup>4</sup>Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo," 1-2.

quests for missions had been made by the Indians in the neighborhood of San Juan Bautista and nothing had ever materialized. He decided, however, to recommend the granting of Rábago's request for an investigation, and advised that a full report should be made by Rábago and the missionaries concerning the number of Indians, their intentions, the kind of land and mission sites available, and, in fact, all matters pertinent to the undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

The auditor, Valeareel, to whom the documents were now returned, agreed in the main with Andreu's opinion, and while concurring in the recommendation to make a full investigation, added the warning that much caution should be observed, since experience had shown that the Indians concerned would desert readily and would commit hostilities under cover of peace. As Governor Rábago was about to set out for Texas, where he would command the new *presidio* of San Xavier, it would be impossible for him to conduct the investigation; and Valcareel recommended, therefore, that the lieutenant-governor, Juan Antonio de Bustillo y Zavallos, should take his place, being aided by the captain of San Juan Bautista, who was familiar with the Apaches and their ways.<sup>2</sup> On September 20 the viceroy issued a decree in accordance with the auditor's opinion.<sup>3</sup> The delivery of the decree was entrusted to Father Guerra of the College of Santa Cruz, who presented it to Bustillo in Monelova on November 22. On December 2 the lieutenant-governor set out for San Juan Bautista, where he arrived on the 9th.<sup>4</sup> The expedition was quickly organized and arrangements were made to leave on the 13th. The leaders of the party were Lieutenant-Governor Bustillo, Lieutenant Vicente Rodríguez, in charge of the *presidio*, and Father Terreros, then president of the missions of the Rio Grande and minister in San Juan Bautista.<sup>5</sup>

Although the Indians had expressed a desire to settle on the San Rodrigo River, a place known as San Ildefonso was thought to be a more suitable location, and to this point the expedition

<sup>1</sup>Fiscal's reply, September 6, 1754, Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo," 2.

<sup>2</sup>Auditor's *parecer*, September 16, *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>3</sup>Viceroy's decree, *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>4</sup>*Obediencia*, *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>5</sup>*Notificación*, *Ibid.*, 3.

made its way. The site was eighteen leagues west of the *presidio* and two leagues from the Villa of San Fernando de Austria. The formal examination was made on December 18, and the testimony showed, as might be expected by one familiar with such proceedings, that it was an ideal spot for missions, with good land and plenty of water, the two essential requirements.<sup>1</sup>

Two days later Bustillo and Terreros visited a large gathering of Apaches, said to reach the number of two thousand, and held a council with the chiefs and principal men. The Indians approved the site selected, and on December 21 they were given formal possession of the *pueblo* of San Lorenzo, as it was called, "under the protection of San Ildefonso." Although the San Rodrigo site was also examined and pronounced good, no attempt, it seems, was made to establish a mission there, and all efforts were centered upon San Lorenzo.<sup>2</sup>

3. *Failure of the Mission.*—Father Terreros took charge of the new mission, and his efforts were attended with a considerable degree of temporary success. By the early part of March, 1755, or within less than three months, at least fifty-two Apaches were in the mission,<sup>3</sup> and by the latter part of that month this number had been increased to eighty-three. The necessary buildings were constructed, and a good irrigation ditch dug. Among the neophytes were the chiefs, El Gordo, El de Godo, and Bigotes. We are told that the interpreter was an Ypande named Francisco del Norte. This would indicate a connection with the more northern Apache bands.<sup>4</sup>

After getting things into good running order, as he thought, Father Terreros retired from the management of the mission, and returned to Querétaro, where he was soon to take up the larger project of missionary work in the San Sabá country. He was succeeded at San Lorenzo by Fray Martín García, who had formerly been stationed at San Antonio and who later went to the missions of Sonora. Concerning the operation of the mission we

<sup>1</sup>Examination, Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission San Lorenzo," 3.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Letters of Rodríguez and of Bustillo, February and March respectively, *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>4</sup>Rodríguez to Bustillo, March 18, 1755, *Ibid.*, 4-5.

have almost no information, except for the report which Father García made shortly after his arrival. His statement to the effect that the mission Indians were the same as those with whom he had been acquainted at San Antonio since 1749 has already been referred to. According to the Indians themselves, he said, their reason for entering San Lorenzo was because Father Dolores had refused to give them missions in Texas. This statement strengthens the impression that a portion of the Apaches were little more than professional beggars, traveling from place to place, wherever under the pretext of a desire for missions they might hoodwink the Spaniards and secure enough food to sustain their lazy bodies.<sup>1</sup>

That selfish desires prompted their apparent submission at San Lorenzo upon this occasion is borne out by the subsequent history of the mission. On June 18, 1755, Father Felix Gutiérrez Varona was assigned to the mission, but in spite of his efforts to curb the growing discontent of the neophytes, on the night of October 4 they revolted, burned all the buildings of the mission, and deserted permanently. Father Gutiérrez remained at the abandoned site for some time, trying to repair the damage and re-establish the mission. His efforts were fruitless, however, and finally all attempt to regain the Indians was given up.<sup>2</sup>

The failure of San Lorenzo was attributed, and justly, no doubt, to the natural inconstancy of the Apaches and their reluctance to live in missions outside of the region which they habitually frequented—that is, north and northwest of San Antonio, in the section traversed by the Pedernales, Llano, and San Sabá Rivers.

This failure of a mission for the Apaches in the Rio Grande country constituted an argument for planting one in their own country, and led logically to the establishments on the San Sabá River. In a future paper I shall describe the various steps by which the San Sabá plan was developed, and shall give a detailed history of the operation of this mission, together with its heretofore little known successors on the Nueces River.

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>2</sup>Certificación de Vicente Rodríguez, Oct. 12, 1755, 2 pp.; Consulta del Sor Fiscal respta. de los Padres, August 25, 1756, 1 p.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES  
CONCERNING TEXAS, 1837-1846

EDITED BY EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS

*Introduction*

British interest in Texas was manifested from the time of her declaration of independence in 1836, and Texan diplomats were early in communication with the British government. It was not until 1840, however, that the Texan appeal for recognition met with active official approval in England, and the first steps were taken toward a conclusion of treaties. Thus very little correspondence from Texas is to be found in the British archives previous to that year. The present publication, which will run through several numbers of *THE QUARTERLY*, consists mainly of letters and reports to the British government, hitherto unpublished, written by the two principal British officials stationed in Texas. These were Charles Elliot, chargé d'affaires, and William Kennedy, consul at Galveston. Further biographical detail is given in footnotes where these men appear in the correspondence. Elliot did not arrive in Texas until the fall of 1842, while Kennedy, though in Texas in 1839-1840, and again in 1842, did not assume his duties as consul until 1843. But as the purpose of *THE QUARTERLY* is to present British evidence as to political, social, and industrial conditions in Texas, as well as of the activities of British agents, various letters from other officials are included in this first installment. On the other hand in the later years of the Republic, instructions to Elliot and Kennedy have been omitted in most cases. Their substance will be stated in footnotes whenever the connection requires it.

The bulk of the manuscript material in the Public Record Office, treating of Texas,—from which these documents are exclusively drawn—is in the form of bound manuscript volumes, some twenty-five in number, containing the instructions of the Foreign Office to British agents in Texas and the reports of these agents. A few of the volumes comprise the records of Elliot's office while in Texas, which were transferred to London when Texas ceased to be a

republic. The archives of Elliot's legation, thus transferred, contain, in addition to the usual material that one would expect to find there, copies of a great deal of the correspondence between Aberdeen, the British Foreign Secretary, and British diplomats in the United States, France, and Mexico. Copies of all important instructions to these countries, treating of Texan affairs, were sent to Elliot for his information. In general, all the Texas material is in very usable shape, being arranged by volumes in chronological order.

The material here presented has been transcribed by a copyist, Mr. W. H. Powell, employed by THE QUARTERLY, and is printed exactly as copied. Final comparison of proof with the manuscripts in the Record Office has not been feasible, but it is believed that the matter as now printed is in the main correct, though in the case of Elliot's letters there is always a chance of error because of his atrocious handwriting. Here, however, Mr. Powell's copy has been checked with that of the editor, who had previously himself made transcripts of the letters. The spelling and punctuation of the original have been followed, and usually without calling attention to errors, where the meaning is clear. The chronological order has been used, save in the case of enclosures, which are marked as such and follow the letters in which they were enclosed. It is not intended to print in THE QUARTERLY documents that have elsewhere appeared in print, in generally accessible form, but no minute search of printed materials has seemed necessary, save in the three volumes of "Texan Diplomatic Correspondence" edited by the late Professor Garrison. The few documents of this collection there printed or calendared, are here omitted, with notations as to where they may be found.

CRAWFORD TO BIDWELL<sup>1</sup>

No. 1.

British Consulate  
Tampico, 9th February 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, that having received In-

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, vol. 110.

structions from His Majesty's Consul General in Mexico in consequence of Lord Viscount Palmerston's letter to Mr. Pakenham, of the 27th. of August last, I shall within a few days proceed to Matamoros and the Mexican Territory to the Northward, and shall use my utmost exertions and zeal in the objects of my journey, communicating thro' His Majesty's Minister in Mexico the result of my observations from time to time as opportunities offer.

I beg leave to acquaint you that this Vice Consulate during my absence will be under the charge of Stewart L. Jolly, Esqr. a most respectable British Merchant in this City, which nomination has met the approval of Mr. Pakenham and the Consul General in a Confidential communication which I made to Mr. O'Gorman to that effect, and when Officially made, I hope will be approved by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford,

Vice Consul.

To John Bidwell, Esqr. etc. etc. etc.

Foreign Office London

[Endorsed as received April 17, and answered.]

CRAWFORD TO BIDWELL<sup>1</sup>

No. 2.

British Consulate

Tampico, 24 March 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour of acquainting you that I embark this day on Board His Majesty's Sloop Racer for Matamoros and the Northern ports of this Republick, and that Mr. Stewart L. Jolly remains acting V. Consul during my absence, to whom I this morning handed over the Archives, and had previously received the approbation of His Majesty's Minister and the Consul General to this

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, vol. 110.

nomination which has been notified to this Government and by me to the Local Authorities.

With great respect I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford,

Vice Consul.

To John Bidwell, Esqr. etc. etc. etc.

Foreign Office. London.

[Endorsed as received June 14th.]

CRAWFORD TO BACKHOUSE<sup>1</sup>

No. 1.

New Orleans.

5th. June 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith for the information of His Majesty's Government Copies of my dispatches from Houston, Texas dated the 13th. Ultimo, addressed to the Consul General at Mexico, and of the 26th. from this place to Mr. Pakenham, relative to the present state of Texas, accompanied with a large pile of papers for reference as to the Constitution and Laws of that province which I request you will be pleased to lay before Lord Viscount Palmerston.

Having concluded my visit to the Northern ports, I am to Sail this day for Tampico where on arrival I shall resume the exercise of my Consular duties.

With Great respect I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford

To John Backhouse, Esqr.

Under Secretary of State etc. etc. etc.

Foreign Office London.

]Endorsed . . . Received July 18th. Answered. 2.  
Inclosures. . . .

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, vol. 110.

Copy to Bd. of Trade Sept. 16/37. Dft. to Con. Parkinson Augt. 31/37. This is an intelligent Report. 60. P.

CRAWFORD TO O'GORMAN<sup>1</sup>

Houston, Texas.  
13th May 1837.

Sir,

I left Matamoros on the 5th. Ultimo embarked on board His Majesty's Sloop Racer from Braso de Santiago on the 8th. and sailed from the Anchorage same day at noon.

The wind being favourable Capt. Hope run down the Coast to the Northward as close as prudence would admit our doing. Thus we saw the entrances to Copano, Aransas and Matagorda Bays and the Rio Sñ Bernardo making our passage in sight of the land all the distance and arrived off the Brasos River on the 9th.<sup>2</sup> in the Evening.

The entrance to Corpus Christi or Copano Bay is in Lat.  $27^{\circ} 36'$  N, Latitude  $97^{\circ} 28'$  W: Long: and has on its Bar generally but 6 to 7 feet Water. The trade, carried on by vessels of suitable construction, is not of much consequence, and at present is less than it was formerly, because the Inhabitants have been obliged to abandon that part of the Country which lays between the Texian Army and Matamoros. This Bay is shallow and altho' surrounded by the finest lands with several streams emptying themselves into it, each stream has its separate Bar, so that excepting for small Craft or Steamers built on purpose, neither this Bay, nor indeed any of the Bays to the Northward, can ever be of consequence as harbours.

The Coast is very low all the way, and the Soundings lessen gradually till you have 9 or 10 fathoms at about three miles from the Shore, good holding ground, but without any shelter from the Violence of the Northers in Winter, altho' would be safe enough during the Six Months Summer from May till Novr.

The entrance to Aransas is in  $27^{\circ} 55'$  N. Lat: and  $97^{\circ} 9'$  W. Long: Vessels drawing 8 ft. Water may enter here. The observa-

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, Vol. 110.

<sup>2</sup>The correct date of arrival at the Brazos River is April 12th; see Crawford to Pakenham, May 26, 1837.

tions as to Trade into Copano Bay, at present apply to this part of the Coast, but in peaceable times will be very considerable for the supply of all the interior to the Westward, as far as *Sñ Anto. de Besar*, and for the transmission of the Crops of Cotton and other produce, Besar and its neighbourhood being represented to me as the province best Cultivated, having also the best Climate and the richest lands.

The Entrance to Matagorda Bay called *Pasa de Cavallo* lays in Lat.  $28^{\circ} 18'$  Long:  $96^{\circ} 33'$  West,—here Vessels drawing 10 feet may enter at Spring tides. The Bay is large and the places where Vessels discharge are at various distances from the entrance, according to the point in the Interior where the Goods are destined, as several Rivers empty into this Bay and the trade is very considerable, prosperous and increasing, the Bernard and Caney Rivers are very inconsiderable, offering no facilities for Commerce.

At the Mouth of the Brasos in Lat.  $29^{\circ}$  N. Long.  $95^{\circ} 37'$  W. there is good anchorage in 5 fathoms Water, with the entrance bearing West and about three miles off. The Town of Velasco is begun to be built at the north side and Quintana is rising on the south at the Bar of this River—which I ascended on board a Steamer thirty Miles to Brasoria, a small Town on the South or Right Bank, where there is a good deal of business going on and several large and well assorted Stores.—Fifteen miles further up by the River, on the same side is the Village, or as it is here called “Landing” of Marion, distant from which inland and in a Southern direction is Columbia, the late Seat of Government, an inconsiderable place, and almost abandoned, but situated in a fine country with some good plantations in its neighbourhood.

I crossed the Brasos River at Bolivar Ferry about thirty miles above Marion, and the last of Steam boat Navigation in the dry Season. When the Rivers are high large Steamers go up 200 miles from the Mouth of the River, which is skirted with the finest timber of Live Oak and other valuable qualities and dotted with Cotton plantations for the like distance. On the Bernard there is also a good deal of Cultivation and more land is being brought into Cultivation.

The destruction of the Crops all over the country from the Rio del Norte to the Trinity, which empties itself into the N. E.

of Galveston Bay, owing to the whole of that part of Texas having been overrun by the Mexican Army previous to the Battle of S<sup>ñ</sup> Jacinto, and especially the loss of the Grain last year has occasioned the planters to sow much Corn this Season and less Cotton will be produced than would otherways have been the case. I have been variously informed as to the number of Bales, which has been stated as high as 60,000, but I conceive the present Crop equal to the exportation of 30,000 Bales averaging 450@500 lbs each.

The City of Houston is situated upon Buffalo Bayou, which runs into the Bay of San Jacinto and the latter into Galveston Bay, distant from Galveston Island about 80 miles. Galveston is the best and indeed the only harbour in Texas, for Vessels of any Burden, but has not at its entrance sufficient water for Ships of War of much force unless purposely constructed. There are three Channels between the Shoals leading into the anchorage at the East end of the Island. The depth of Water marked on the accompanying map in English feet may be depended upon, and at Spring tides a foot more. It will be seen by the Map that large Vessels must discharge and load in the Harbour of Galveston, whilst smaller Craft can go up about 15 miles to Red fish Bar from whence their Cargoes are carried away by Steamers and lighters to Houston or other points as may be required.

During my stay of some weeks in this part of Texas there were about 20 arrivals all Americans, mostly from New Orleans and loaded with provisions, merchandise of all sorts, bringing also their full allowance of passengers.

I endeavoured to obtain returns of the Trade corresponding to each port, but as they have had no Duties to collect till this time, so they have had no Collectors nor port Officers to collect information, and I am only enabled to form an estimate of what the trade is at present, by what I have seen and conjecture that it will increase proportionately with the population crowding in. At present about 40 Vessels averaging 100 Tons ea[ch] carry on the whole Commerce monthly which would give an aggregate of 48000 Tons in the year, and they are all under the flag of the United States, with the exception of two or three sailing under the single Star of Texas.

The pilotage at the several ports is on the average about 10/== Sterling for the foot of water which the Vessel draws. The charge by the Steamers and other lighters for unloading and transporting of the Cargoes to the several points of destination beyond the place of discharge, is borne by the Merchandise and is generally done by agreement according to the distance and the nature of the Cargo.

According to the Act passed 20th. Decr. last, Authorising the raising of a Revenue by Import duties, from and after the 1st. June next, the following duties are to be exacted, viz:—Upon all Wines, Spirituous and Malt liquors an ad valorem duty upon Invoice Cost of 45 per Centum, Upon all Silk Goods and all Manufactures of Silk 50 per Cent: Upon Sugar and Coffee  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent: Upon Teas 25 per Cent. upon Bread Stuffs, one per Cent: upon Iron and Castings 10 per Cent: upon all coarse Clothing, coarse Shirting, Shoes, Blankets Kersies, Sattinets and Clothes of a mixture of Cotton and Wool 10 per Ct.: upon all other goods not enumerated 20 per Ct. ad valorem upon the Invoice Cost. And upon all Vessels of 10 Tons and upwards 25 Cents per Ton—each time they enter from a foreign port.

The Appointment of the necessary Revenue Officers will no doubt be made forthwith, but I have some reason to think that a modification of the Tariff will be carried by the present Congress, to the effect of authorizing the President to exempt from duty for one year all articles for Agricultural use, provisions of all kinds, seeds and plants, Saddlery and Harness, Artificers Tools, Lumber and framed houses with the Glass and fastenings they require, etc. The depot of Goods so as to create a transit of Merchandise is also one of the alterations intended to be recommended to the Legislature by the Finance Committee during the present Session of Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Should Texas maintain its Independence of Mexico an advantageous Barter trade can be established with other Countries who will supply manufactures and take Cotton and other produce in return. Almost any quantity of the finest and most durable timber for the purposes of Naval architecture can be furnished from

<sup>1</sup>Some of these modifications of the tariff were embodied in an act approved June 12, 1837. (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1313-1319.)

the forests for little more than the expence of felling and taking away.

With respect I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford

To Charles Th: O'Gorman, Esqr.

H. M. Consul General, etc. etc. etc.

Mexico.

[Endorsed] . . . Copy to Bd. of Trade Sept. 16/37. Copy to Adm'y. . . .

CRAWFORD TO PAKENHAM<sup>1</sup>

No. 3.

New Orleans.

26th May, 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I arrived here last Evening on my return to Tampico, last from Galveston Bay, I sailed from Matamoros on the 8th. Ultimo and landed at the Mouth of the Brasos River on the 12th., proceeded to Brasoria and Marion and reached Columbia, the seat of the Texas Government<sup>2</sup> on the 13th., where I was well received by the President General Sam Houston, from whom I experienced very great attention during my residence of one Month in that Country.

I was careful to explain to General Houston that my visit was wholly one of a Consular nature to collect satisfactory information respecting the Commerce of the ports to the Northward of the Distriet of Tampico,<sup>3</sup> and I found every disposition on his part

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, vol. 110. Sir Richard Pakenham, British Minister at Mexico, 1835-1843; at Washington, 1844-1847.

<sup>2</sup>Columbia had been the seat of government since August, 1836, but during the first session of the first congress Houston was selected as the seat of government until 1840. The adjourned session of the first congress would meet there on May 1st. The delay in completing the necessary buildings caused the president and officers of the government to tarry at Columbia until April 13th. They set out within a few days, and Mr. Crawford spent the greater portion of his month's visit at Houston.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

<sup>3</sup>While in his official intercourse Mr. Crawford may have guarded his remarks very carefully, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of May 2, 1837, interpreted his mission as follows: "On the morning of the 12th ult.

to assist me in the object of my journey. Under date 13th. Instant from Houston, I addressed a report to His Majesty's Consul General in Mexico upon the subject of the Trade at the ports from Matamoros to the Sabine, to which as it has doubtless been laid before you I beg leave respectfully to refer, and I shall in the present dispatch convey to you for the information of His Majesty's Government such details of the state of Texas as it has been in my power to collect in so short a time.—

I need not recur to the circumstances which have produced the Revolution in that Province, nor the events of the Campaigns, which have failed on the part of Mexico to reduce the Colonists to subjection, nor to repeat the facts already manifest to the World, that they have, set up for themselves, as a Separate, free and independent Nation, based upon an Elective Representation, with an Executive Government, Senate and House of Representatives, unrecognized by Mexico and that the War of Subjugation by the present State is still continued.

Having made these preliminary observations, I shall state the Nature of the Government existing in Texas, composed of a President, Vice President, Principal Secretary of State, Ministers of War and Marine, Minister of Finance and Attorney General.

The Legislature consists of the Senate and House of Representatives.

All Elections are popular, and the powers conferred upon the Government and Congress are those described in the Constitution, of which a Copy will be found in the "Telegraph" of the 2nd. August 1836, as adopted by the Convention on the 17th. March of the same year, which paper I have the honour to transmit herewith.—

The Government consists at present of, General Sam Houston, President, Mirabeau B. Lamar, V. President, Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury, Genl. Henderson, Sec. of State, W. S. Fisher, Sec. at War, S. Rhodes Fisher, Sec. of the Navy, P. W. Grayson, Attorney General.

Mr. Crawford arrived at Columbia, accompanied by several of the officers of H. B. M. Brig of War, *Racer*, Captain Hope. The object of this gentleman's visit to Texas, is we understand to investigate the civil and political condition of the country and report to the British government."—  
EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

During the first Session of Congress many salutary laws were enacted, which are in operation, rigidly administered by the Judges and other Authorities in the several districts and Counties appertaining to their Jurisdiction.

I have not been able to obtain the Laws which have been passed in a pamphlet form, as they are not yet so arranged, but I have the honour of transmitting a file of the "Telegraph" Newspaper which contains them all and to which I must beg reference. Much order prevails in the Villages and Towns, if they may be so designated, as well as throughout the Country and the detection of Crime is surely followed by the infliction of the corresponding punishment established by Law upon conviction of the offender by an impartial Jury.—Such is the State of Texas at present as regards its Government and the execution of the Laws and it is internally tranquil, the roads safe for travellers, unless on the Indian Frontier at a distance from Settlements.

The Campaign of 1836, unsettled the whole Country, between the Rio Bravo del Norte and the San Jacinto which falls into the N. West Corner of Galveston Bay. Most of the crops were lost, the Corn all destroyed and the Towns as well as many of the Houses on the plantations were burnt, generally by the Colonists themselves, to leave the Mexican Army without shelter and by the Mexicans also in many instances, but the inhabitants are again upon their lands and the Cultivation goes on, as far as the River La Brea or the Navidad, where the Texian Head quarters has been for some time past.

The Army is composed of about 2000 Men enlisted for 2 Years Service, the effective strength on the 1st May was 1830 Bayonets in Camp.—They are said to be well disciplined and they certainly have borne considerable privations without murmuring, having had to subsist of late wholly upon Beef, their Supplies of Bread, and flour having been captured by the Mexn. Fleet.—Besides this, the regular Army, Texas has several Companies of Rangers on the various Frontiers to check the Indian Tribes.—These last however have but little occupation, as the Policy of General Houston has been conciliatory and he has very lately entered into Treaties with the most influential Chiefs, who were at the Seat of Government on a "Big Talk" and retired well satisfied.

All Volunteers have been disbanded from the Texan Service, and the Militia which could be in the Field on a very short Notice would be very effective, in a Country where there are so many Brakes and so much Timber, where every man is a Marksman and carries his Rifle

Between the present Camp of the Army and Matamoros few of the Settlers have as yet resumed the occupation of their lands, situated between the Armies of the contending parties those poor people dread a repetition of the Scenes of Goliad and the difficulties of their distressed situation is still fresh in the sad recollection of our poor countrymen Colonists at San Patricio, whose case I particularly stated in my letter from Matamoros of the 4th. Ultimo. Many of those are here and in no very comfortable circumstances, but it would be highly imprudent in them to return to their Colonies at present.

Should the Mexicans undertake another Campaign into Texas, they will probably never reach beyond the Colorado. They would be met by the full quota of the Militia and their Army can count upon no resources, but what their Fleet may supply from Seaward, or they can bring with them, as the Cattle will be driven back the Prairies fired and the whole Country left more devastated if possible than it is in that direction at present, whilst every stream, every tree and Cane Brake will be studded with Riflemen, so that, the rapid advance practiced last Campaign could not be repeated and if they hesitate and remain inactive they are lost for want of sustenance and destroyed by the Guerillas of the Colonists.—

The subjugation of Texas by Mexico, can only in my opinion be effected by a systematic operation and the establishment of posts and Depots, giving time for the occupation of such posts and Depots by fresh troops and by slow progress with a strong Army putting down the spirit of Rebellion by degrees, which is only to be done at last by an effectively continued Military occupation of the whole Country.

Such a plan of operation it is impossible for Mexico to undertake or execute, things have gone so far, the population of Texas is too great now, their confidence from past experience so established in themselves and the superiority of the men contending for the Independence they have assumed and for the possession of the Soil they have determined to adopt, is so great, both as to

intelligence and energy, compared with the harrassed and ill paid Mexican Soldiery, that I may be warranted in concluding that Texas has conquered or will ultimately conquer her Independence of Mexico.

Having arrived at this Conclusion I shall now state what the opinion is in that Country as to its Annexation to the United State of North America

At the time of the Election of the President last year the opinion was decidedly in favour of Annexation, and the Minister or Commissioner sent to Washington was instructed to endeavour to bring about that desideratum upon the recognition of their political Independence

Since that time reflection has taught them that their interests are at variance with some portion of the North American Union, and that annexation, would be disadvantageous with a Territory extending 560,000 Square Miles under a benign climate, and a soil capable of producing, as much if not more Cotton than is grown in America and of a rich quality, what could be gained to Texas by exchanging her produce against manufactures, which She requires, if that produce was to pass thro' America and the Manufactures be received thro' the same medium. She would lose the advantage of Competition, and could reap no solid benefit by the adding her Cottons into the growth of the United States.

The opinion then has changed and they are very anxious to have a Separate, free and recognised Independent Government, to trade directly with other Nations, giving the Raw produce for the Manufactures they require, for it must be long ere there are Manufactories in Texas. I am not aware whether other Instructions are sent to the Minister in Washington but I know that annexation to that Government is not wished by the people or the Government of Texas, nor will it now be sought for. By the Constitution Slaves are permitted to be introduced over the frontier of the United States only.—No free Negro is permitted to reside in the Territory, and the introduction of Slaves, Africans or Negroes is forever prohibited and declared to be piracy, except those from the United States.

The number of Slaves as yet is by no means great and in general they are exceedingly well treated.

That notwithstanding the declaration of piracy, Slaves have

been imported directly into Texas I lament to say is but too true, and whilst I make this statement it is due to the Government and especially to the President, that I should declare my conviction of their having tried every means in their power to detect the perpetrators and bring them to Justice.—I have good reason to believe that there is still one or more American Vessels employed in this most detestable traffick, landing the Slaves on the East Side of the Sabine and so evading the Laws of Texas.

It is also true that some Slaves were brought from Cuba and landed in Texas by the Am: Schooners *Waterwich* and *Emperor* a some few Months ago a Cargo was run at the *Brasos River* by a Vessel under Texas Colours

I have had several conversations with Genl. Houston upon this important subject, and I am satisfied of his sincere anxiety to put a stop to the traffick in future. I have been shewn his confidential communications on the subject with the Government of the United States and I am happy to say that Mr. Poinsetts<sup>1</sup> promises to him have been carried into effect, there being at this moment 300 United States troops here destined to the Sabine upon that and other Service.

I would also beg leave to call your attention to the Message delivered at which I had the honour of being present in the House of Representatives on the 4th Instant,<sup>2</sup> in which General Houston laments the inability of their Navy to put an end to the traffick in Slaves, and calls upon the Government of His Majesty and of America to put it down. The burst of approbation upon the delivery of that part of the Message was irrestrainable and I am confident that in the present sense of the people of Texas, before the introduction of Slaves from the United States becomes much greater, it would not be a matter of very great difficulty to induce the alteration and have that blot expunged from their Constitutional Charter. During the present year, emigration from all the Western Country of the United States owing to the Commercial distress which has of late affected this Country, is expected to be very extensive and all the planters from thence will carry in

<sup>1</sup>Joel R. Poinsett was Secretary of War of the United States from March 14, 1837, to March 3, 1841.

<sup>2</sup>The message was delivered May 5th, and is printed in the *House Journal*, 1 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 9-16.

their Slaves along with them. So that in twelve months from this time, the Slave population of Texas will probably be doubled unless some remedy be applied to prevent it.

Consequent of the change of the opinion of the People and Government as to their annexation to the United States, has been the authorization of the President to send a Commissioner to England in order to open if possible a Communication with His Majesty's Government, and General Houston's wish was to appoint and dispatch the Commissioner forthwith, in all probability Colonel Grayson the present Attorney General will be selected for this appointment<sup>1</sup>

The Government Vessels of this incipient Republick, are too small Schooners, they had issued numerous letters of marque at one time, but these have prudently been recalled excepting one, whose Cruize will not be out for two Months, after which it will not be renewed. Their Vessels have not committed any excesses upon the Commerce of any Nation excepting in the Instance of the *Am: Brigantine Pocket*,<sup>2</sup> and the Cargo being contraband of War destined for the supply of the Mexican Army, the United States have been satisfied that the Texas Government should make good the Value of the Vessel to the Owners, which has been done and the Vessel is moored at a depot in Galveston Bay.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that I made all and every enquiry during my stay in Texas as to the assistance which that Country has received from the United States, and I am quite satisfied that none whatever has been furnished by that Government or connived at in any way. Means have been found to evade the laws and assistance has been furnished by Individuals to a great extent but wherever there was a suspicion attached to such expeditions, there has been a prosecution of the parties by the United States, but generally such prosecutions have failed, because of the diffi-

<sup>1</sup>A joint resolution, requesting the president to appoint an agent to the Court of Great Britain, was approved May 15, 1837 (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1287). A secret joint resolution, authorizing the president to instruct this agent to visit the Court of St. Cloud, was approved June 7, 1837 (*Secret Journals of the Senate*, 315.) J. Pinckney Henderson was commissioned minister to Great Britain June 20, 1837; he arrived at London on October 9th.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

<sup>2</sup>For an account of the case of the *Brig Pocket*, see THE QUARTERLY, XII, 276-295.

culty of obtaining sufficient evidence owing to the Sympathies of this people of America being roused by the atrocities of the Campaign of 1836, and their Interests also been deeply engaged in the success of the Struggle of their Sons and other relatives the Colonists of Texas.

Great inducements are held out to Settlers the price of land being 50 Cts. or 2/=<sup>3</sup> Sterling pr. Acre, if purchased from the Government, but large Grants are given to Emigrants, under the Conditions of the 24th Sec. of the Land Office Act passed on the 22d December 1836, to which I beg leave to refer, in the Telegraph No. 49.

Upon the whole, Texas at present offers perfect Security of persons and property, a large field is opening there for the Consumpt[ion] of our Manufactures of every kind. Their Laws and Language are like our own and unless Mexico receives assistance, at this time unforeseen, that Territory will never be subject to her Controul.

Their Bane is the having sanctioned Slavery, a mistake which they would not again fall into, and which even now, were it made a Condition, might be remedied by Treaty with some influential Nation, before the evil has grown greater.

America is deriving all the benefit of their Trade and a transit duty of 3 Cts. per lb. on the Cotton taken in return. It is true that this is draw back upon its exportation to Europe but the advantages of a direct trade are wanting to Texas, of which they are well aware and would make a sacrifice to obtain commercial Inter-course with the rest of the World.

The finances of Texas are in the very worst possible state, a Species of Scrip called Land Scrip, is issued and some of this paper has been negociated here and elsewhere in America, the amounts of these Bonds are redeemable in Lands.

Bonds under similar Security to the extent of five Millions of Dollars have lately been issued and two Millions have been confided to some Commissioners who are gone to attempt their negociation in the Middle and Northern Cities of this Republic.—In the meantime all the publick Authorities and Officers support themselves out of their private means, and as their pay tickets are issued dispose of them as they best can. A considerable and immediate Revenue will however arise out of the Import duties which take effect

on the 1st. proximo, and will give means for the more pressing wants of the Government

With great respect. I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient humble Servant.

Jos. T. Crawford.

To Richard Pakenham, Esqr.

His Majesty's Minister Plenipotio. etc. etc. etc.

Mexico.

[Endorsed] . . . Ext. to Bd. of Trade. . . .

HAMILTON TO MACGREGOR<sup>1</sup>

Copy.

No. 1.

Barbados.

23d June 1840.

Sir,

During my Stay in Texas, I was afforded frequent opportunities of conversing with a Number of Merchants, among them, some English, and others equally interested in the Trade with Great Britain, also many Cotton Planters, the tenor of their conversation verged to one and the same focus, namely; that they were most anxious to have a Commercial Treaty negotiated between Great Britain and that Country.

I was assured by some of the most influential and enlightened persons there, that a Treaty of the description would meet with the greatest encouragement, and be placed upon the most favourable footing by that Country; Notwithstanding France might by her Treaty,<sup>2</sup> consider herself entitled to a prior claim as the most favoured Nation.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 1. Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor, governor of the Windward Islands, in 1840 sent Commander Joseph Hamilton of the British Navy to Texas to reclaim certain negroes reported to have come into Texas as indentured servants, and then to have been made slaves. (Worley, "Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas," THE QUARTERLY, IX, 9-10; Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 901-905 and 911-914, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II. The Diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas, edited by Dr. George P. Garrison, is published in two parts; part one appeared as volume two of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1907, part two (in two volumes) appeared as volume two of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1908.

<sup>2</sup>Concluded at Paris, September 25, 1839, by J. Pinckney Henderson; ratified by Texas, January 13, 1840. (*British and Foreign State Papers*, XXX, 1227-1233.)

The Planters and those Speculating in Cotton are most anxious to ship their produce direct to England rather than send it to the United States of North America where they only receive eight Cents per pound for the finest Staple and equal to any grown in that Country

The advantages of such a Treaty would be reciprocal, moreover it would secure to Great Britain the Trade now carrying on between that Country and the United States and in a very few years, all Commerce between those Countries would dwindle into mere insignificance.

Should such a treaty be considered by Her Majesty's Government unnecessary or impracticable, I trust I am, not assuming too much, in recommending the appointment of a Government Agent to Texas, as an essential requisite for the purpose of protecting the British Commercial Interest now so rapidly increasing.

I have &c.

Jos. Hamilton.

His Excellency.

Sir Evan John Macgregor, Bart.: etc. etc. etc.

SHERIDAN TO GARRAWAY<sup>1</sup>

*Copy.*

*No. 3.*

Secretary's Office.

July. 12. 1840.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th Instant together with its enclosure, a Copy of a letter from Captain Hamilton to His Excellency the Governor suggesting the propriety of establishing a British Resident in Texas for the purpose of protecting the British Commercial interest in that Country.

With reference to this proposal His Excellency has been pleased to request that I should afford such observations as it may appear to me desirable to submit with the view of enabling Her Majesty's

<sup>1</sup>F. O. Texas, vol. 1. Francis C. Sheridan, Colonial Secretary under Governor MacGregor, Windward Islands, stationed at Barbados in 1840.

Joseph Garraway, Acting Private Secretary to Governor MacGregor, and also a Judge of Assistant Court of Appeals in Barbados. (Brit. Sess. Papers, 1840—Commons—vol. 35. Papers relative to the affairs of Barbados, pp. 41, 145, 149.)

Government to become aware of the actual Condition of the Texian, authorities and people and the merits of Captain Hamilton's proposal for the employment of a political Agent in that Country.

Before I speak of Captain Hamilton's proposition. It will be necessary for me, in justice to so important a subject and with the desire of affording all the information in my power according to His Excellency's wishes, to give 1st a brief account of Texas and her resources, 2dly. of the Government and Population, and 3rd of such reasons as naturally occur for the acknowledgment of that Country as a Republic by Great Britain.

Texas contains a superficial territory which may be fairly estimated at 200,000,000 acres, and lying between Lat. 26, 27 to 29½. 34. 35 and 37½ and Long. 93. 30 to 103. 30 West from Greenwich. This I mention because the Admiralty Charts with respect to the Coast are a degree and from 20 to 30 miles in error

The value of land throughout Texas is at present from 50 Cents to 15 and 20 Dollars per Acre.

The Cotton lands of Texas, from all the information, I could collect, will yield 3 times as much Cotton as the Carolinas or Georgia to the Acre twice as much as Albana [Alabama] and from 25 to 40 per Cent, more than the lands of Louisiana or Mississippi.

The value of Merehandize imported from the 30th June 37 to 30th June 1838 was estimated at 2,000,000, and a half Dollars.

The imports [exports] this year may be estimated at 20,000 bales of Cotton being about double the amount Shipped the year proceeding.

The Four principal Sea Ports are, The Sabine, Galveston Matagorda, and Aransas.

In consequence of Sand Bars which Stretch across the Mouths of all the Harbours of Texas there is none which will permit a vessel of any considerable draught to enter, Galveston is the best, and that has but 12 to 13 feet on the Bar.

Texas has a small Navy which is about to be laid up in consequence of inability on the part of the Country to support it.

To the best of my belief Texas may challenge the World to show richer and more productive Soil, than is to be found in her Territory. That, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the Banks of the Rivers is unquestionably the best adapted to the growth of the Cane and Cotton Plants.

The latter is, and in my opinion will continue to be the Staple produce of the Country. Experiments in the culture of the Cane have been attempted and with fair success. Maize and Corn grow well in all parts of Texas but the growth of Wheat and Rye has not answered.

It is fair however to state that this has only been attempted within 110 English Miles of the Coast; and it is the general opinion of the Settlers that when the population of Texas shall have advanced into the interior 150 or 200 Miles further the increased elevation and difference of Soil will afford a Region for the growth of Corn inferior to none on that Continent. The Lands very generally within the Coast Region have been selected and located by the early Settlers of Texas, and those who have emigrated to the Country within the last 3 years including the Bounty lands of Soldiers which are at present in progress of location. I believe that a correct Estimate would give 100,000,000 of Acres as the property of Individuals on closing up the existing Claims, and 100,000,000 as National Property of which 20,000,000 is good Cotton Land.

The Government is carried on, as in America, and the Laws of Texas have with a very few slight alterations been copied from those of the United States, but are only nominally in force, for from the disturbed state of Society and the lawless characters of the Inhabitants the Authorities are as yet comparatively powerless.

The population which may be estimated at 150,000<sup>1</sup> Souls are chiefly Americans, a few Germans, and some English and Irish.—These are principally Bankrupts, Swindlers and Felons from the United States occasionally diversified with an Oasis of respectability which only renders the Desert of Villainy around more conspicuous by contrast.

The Amount of Emigration into the Country at this time may be reckoned at 5000 Souls per Month, and indeed so anxious are the Texians that it should be rapid and abundant and so utterly reckless as to the component parts that their Newspapers teem with invitations to the Debtors of America to seek for safety in the New Republic.

<sup>1</sup>This, of course, is an excessive estimate. There are no authentic figures available for this date, but as late as 1847 the white population was but a little more than a hundred thousand.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

At present I believe the most notable Vagabonds who settle in Texas are importations from New Orleans, owing to the contiguity of the latter, the deranged state of the Money Market in Louisiana the hourly Bankruptcies and because greater facility is afforded for absconding from thence by the Steam Communication kept up between New Orleans and Galveston with which place alone, any thing like a direct and constant trade is carried on.

Murder and every other Crime is of great frequency in Texas and the perpetrators escape with the greatest impunity.

Many Murders were committed in the Island of Galveston and in the Country during my stay on the Coast, and I could never learn that one offender was brought to justice. It is considered unsafe to walk through the Streets of the principal Towns without being armed.

The Bowie Knife is the weapon most in vogue and it may not be uninteresting here to state that the greater number of these Weapons are manufactured in Sheffield and Birmingham and brought over in British Ships as a profitable Speculation. I have seen one manufactured by "Bunting & Son" of Sheffield, the blade of which was 18 inches long and ornamented in beautiful trace[r]y on the Steel as "The genuine Arkansas Tooth Pick" and I have been offered another for Sale also of English make the vender of which hinted that I ought to pay him a Dollar more than he demanded, as he could assure me it had tasted Blood.

The Monetary Affairs of the Country are in a desperate state. The National Debt is only two Millions of Dollars <sup>1</sup> but the Notes issued by Government are unavailable out of the Country except at New Orleans and even there, the Texian Dollar Note is at 80 per cent discount.

A great part of the Government liabilities have been bought up at these prices by Speculators in New York, Baltimore etc, in expectation of the loan which Texas is endeavouring to raise, being obtained.

The Sum desired to be raised is 5,000,000 of Dollars to be contracted for under the following terms,<sup>2</sup> 1,000,000 would be required in 6 or 9 months, the remaining 4 by instalments of 1,000,000 in

<sup>1</sup>\$2,164,000, in September, 1838 (Morphis, *History of Texas*, 399); but at the date of this letter, approximately \$5,000,000.

<sup>2</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1484-1486.

every 6 months there after 2,000,000, to be redeemed in less than 30 Years but not less than 5 Years with interest not exceeding 10 per Cent per Annum.

With respect to the Government resources the Special Report of the Secretary of the Treasury gives the following Account.

The estimated receipts for the ensuing year (i. e. 1840) as derived from the internal resources of the Country are 1,300,000 Dollars 500,000 of which are derived from direct Taxes and land Dues 400,000, from Customs and the remainder from Sales of Land. Under the present Laws however owing to the great defects in prescribing the manner of Assessing and Collecting the direct Tax, and the inability of this Department to compel the receivers of Public Money to pay them into the Treasury. It is believed that not one fourth of that Sum would be realized to the Government.

He then adds that by certain Sales of land an additional Sum of 283,000 Dollars would be obtained which gives \$1,441,900 as "the estimated internal resources of the Country for the year 1840 it being but 53,939. less than the current expenditure for the same period."

The funds requested for this year by what are termed the Disbursing Bureaus, are as follows

War Department \$784,351-27 Cents out of which 76,186, is required for the year 1839 and 148,632 for the year 38.

The Naval Department 550,787

The President and his Secretary etc. 12,800 out of which the first gets 10,000.

The State Department 80,400.

The Congress in consideration of their Gigantic labours, and the risk they run of being "Bowie" knived during Debate (a custom of by no means rare occurrence) 135,000.

Mr. Speaker appropriating 840 for his share and the Honorable Members 22,800. The Senate 20,950 of which the President and Members content themselves with 18,240 and there is one Striking peculiarity in the Conduct of these Gentlemen, which is, that although they deplore the condition of the ill paid Navy and regret that Government should be in arrears with the Army they take very good care to see that their exertions are strictly and regularly recompensed.

The Estimated expenses of the Civil Department of the Government Amount to 276,520 Dollars, and there is a further demand of 71,000 for Civil and Contingent expenses.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be as well to state that the Texian Governments had prior to my leaving the Coast determined to make one last struggle to relieve the Country of its debt of 2 Millions. This was to be effected by a land Tax which was [to] supersede every thing else of the kind ever attempted before.

This Tax, which was to come into operation on the 1st of the present Month, ranges from 50 Cents (the minimum), or upwards, per every hundred Acres, on all lands whether cultivated or not and the value of the Lands were to be determined by Government Surveyors. By the collection of this impost they calculated not only to shake off the national encumbrances and establish the Credit of the Country, but also to put a considerable Sum into the Treasury Coffers; and I do not doubt it in the least, provided they could collect the Tax. But unfortunately the deranged State of Society and the general indisposition to pay anything will militate strongly against the levy, added to which there are vast numbers of men in Texas who have more acres of Land than half pennies, and to give some idea of the wretched poverty of some of these landed proprietors. I have only to state, that many to whom lands have been granted, have been known to hand over half their acres to the person appointed to locate them, in lieu of his (the locators) fees which they were unable to pay in Cash.

Having thus to the best of my ability given a brief outline of the present State of Texas and its Government I will return to Captain Hamilton's Proposal.

If the British Government have finally decided not to acknowledge Texas as an independent Republic,<sup>1</sup> I cannot see of what use a resident in that Country, as proposed by Captain Hamilton, could possibly be or what protection he could afford to British Commercial Interests; But if the Government have it in the remotest contemplation to grant the recognition. It is my humble opinion that

<sup>1</sup>Application for recognition made by J. Pinckney Henderson, October 13, 1837; refused by Palmerston. January 27, 1838. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 812 and 839, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

a competent person should be at once sent there to examine the Country, make himself acquainted with the character and habits of the people and report thereon.

And he might in particular to be directed to obtain a thorough knowledge of the history of, and fraudulent dealings in the different descriptions of "Land Titles" and locations with a view to the protection and assistance of British Emigrants on their arrival in Texas and also to obtain as much information with respect to that part of the Country (of which little is known) which is best adapted for the growth of Grain and rearing of Cattle for to that region I think the tide of British Emigration will tend.

Although the Character and I believe it to be a correct one, which I have given of the Texian people is certainly not a very pleasing one, still I do not wish to convey the idea that they are all Outcasts from Society on the contrary there are individual instances of talent, worth and respectability. On the example and exertions of these Men the future prosperity of Texas mainly depends and what is more to the purpose, the Mass tacitly acknowledge this, and do not seek to shackle their efforts by interference.

I will most respectfully advance for consideration, as connected with the present condition of the Texian Republic, a few reasons for believing that a recognition of her Independence by Great Britain would be of ultimate advantage to the Mother Country

One of the greatest objections raised against this Step, in England as I understand is, that Texas being a Slave holding Country, presents an immense field for the traffic in Slaves. But with the greatest deference, I can but think that a prompt recognition of Texas by Great Britain if accompanied by encouragement and protection to Emigration would have a directly contrary effect.

By the Laws of Texas, Slaves may be introduced from the United States but not from the Main. Introducing them from other Countries being considered "piracy" and nominally punishable by Death. I say nominally for although it is death according to Law and a matter of boast on the Score of humanity among the Texians, no sort of steps are taken to discover and punish Offenders, who consequently run their Cargoes with reckless impunity, and in order that no doubt may exist as to the laxity of the authorities with the respect of this Law, there are persons, residents on some parts of the Coast, who are very generally known

to be Slave Agents. The price of Slaves in Texas is enormous owing to the great demand for labour and the high price of Fetches.<sup>1</sup> Slaves have been known to bring 1,500 to 2000 dollars a head there, while at the same time I saw them selling at 3 and 400 Dollars in the Havannah Market.

In consequence of this there is a competition between the Spanish Slave holders and others and those of the United States particularly those of Virginia, Carolinas, Georgia, Kentuchie Missouri and Tenisee, which rivalry will continue until Texas is stocked with sufficient Labourers to work the Lands already in process of cultivation.

The anxiety of the Texians that Great Britain should recognize their Republic is so evident, that I need not dilate on it, further than to state (and that from the very best authority,) that if it were done, they would allow England almost, to make her own terms upon every, even the Slave question, in which case The Home Department might not only insist upon the severest restrictions and penalties being imposed at once on the introduction of Slaves from the Main, but might appoint their own Agent to suprintend and see that these penalties were inflicted

In the mean while Emigration would be increasing gradually, making a proportionate decrease in the price of labour and consequently in the price of Slaves, till at length the Market price for them in Texas would hardly hold out sufficient inducement to the Speculator from the United States and most unquestionably little temptation to the Captain and Crews of Slave Vessels, when they found, that in addition to the deteriorating value they received from their ventures, a strict watch was kept upon their nefarious proceedings, and severe and certain punishment followed on detection.

In addition I will with confidence state that in yielding a recognition Great Britain might make it a "sine quâ non" that Slavery should ultimately be altogether extinguished, and that, at no very distant period. For it must be borne in mind, that with the exception of the Coast Region, the Climate of Texas does not require the Constitution of the "Negro," on the contrary, in some parts the cold is too severe in Winter, to admit of his working without greatly suffering in health. And one White man will in such cases

<sup>1</sup>Cost of transporting slaves to Texas (?).

easily do the Work of two Blacks. Again with reference to British Emigration, the Maladies peculiar to the Coast region, will, if what I before advanced prove correct, be encountered by those who are accustomed to them.—Vizt. the American Cotton and Cane Planters, and as I do not think that these Plantations, can be carried on by white Labourers, it will become a matter of consideration whether they could not be worked for the next five Years by the Coloured Population now in Texas under the System of Apprenticeship, as in the West Indies, prior to thorough emancipation; And I think this might the more easily be done now, considering the small number of Slaves in Texas the Sum total not exceeding 20,000.

I need hardly remind you that about 2 years ago, an offer of annexation was made on the part of Texas to the United States.<sup>1</sup> This, the latter thought fit to decline, a step which gave the greatest affront to the young Republic and engendered a feeling of hostility, which though rapidly dying away, has yet sufficient life to render the renewal of such a proposition, and [out?] of the question, particularly as the population of Texas is quadrupled since the offer was made and the successes of the Settlers at the Battles of San Jacinto etc have inflated them with such sentiments of admiration at their own prowess as are only equalled by their profound contempt, for the Mexicans and Indians; in consequence of which they consider themselves competent to stand alone, I mention this because in a few years, They will become almost as indifferent towards Great Britain, as they certainly now are towards America, which contemplating the superior terms to be made with them, is another reason for yielding an early recognition

Premising this is granted (but again I must add, provided it is accompanied by encouragement and protection to Emigrants from home) England would derive in a few years from Texas a full supply of Cotton for her manufactures, equal if not superior to that now obtained from Louisiana, and Mississippi and if some slight and marked preference were given to her produce in England, the Planter and Labourer now working their nearly worn out land in the States would be found cultivating the Virgin Soil of

<sup>1</sup>Refused by the United States in August, 1837. Texan independence was recognized by the United States in March, 1837; by France, 1839; by Holland and by Belgium, 1840; and by Great Britain, 1842.

Texas, and I really believe that twenty years would not pass away, before England (if necessary) might exclude every Bale of Cotton made in the States.

I[n] conclusion I will add from Sources on which I can rely, that if England will grant a recognition, her recommendation to the Texians would induce them to pay Mexico from 3 to 5 Millions of Dollars for a recognition of their independence, by that Country and would also assume a portion of the Debt due by Mexico to British Merchants. For these purposes she would agree to issue Bonds, paying interest semi-annually to pledge the National Lands, or any portion of the Revenue derived from Customs as Security for the punctual Payment of such Bonds for the Satisfaction of the Mexican Government and the British Creditor

I have etc.

Francis C. Sheridan  
Col. Secy.

Joseph Ganaway, Esqr.

A. P. Sy.

[Endorsed] In letter from the Colonial Office of 7 Sept, 1840.

MAILLARD TO PALMERSTON<sup>1</sup>

66 Ernest Street  
Albany Street  
Regents Park.  
15th Sept. 1840.

My Lord,

Immediately on my Arrival at Liverpool from the Republic of Texas I forwarded to the Government Journal an Account of the

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, vol. 142. Nicholas Doran Maillard, an English barrister at law, who came to Texas in 1840 in search of health and resided there six months. After the appearance of Kennedy's *Texas* (see note 1, p. 244), Maillard published a *History of the Republic of Texas* (London, 1842), in which he sought to refute Kennedy, to uphold the cause of Mexico, to prevent the ratification of British treaties with Texas, and to warn his countrymen against emigration to that state. (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 141.)

Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary in Melbourne's Government until August 30, 1841, when the Tories came into power under Peel, and Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston at the Foreign Office. The great English anti-slave trade movement had waned somewhat between 1835 and 1840, but in the latter year was revived. Maillard's letter evidently seeks to use

latest Movements of the Federalists in Texas, Which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 17th Ult. Showing the course which the Texain Government has managed to pursue, pending the Struggle between the Centralists and Federalists of Mexieo. In addition to which I beg to direct your Lordship's Attention to the traffic in Slaves, which is carried on at this Moment in the Most bare-faced Manner between the Southern States of America and the Republic of Texas.

The Vessels employed in this branch of the American Slave Trade are Steamers of the first Class, of which there are no less than three the Neptune, Colombia, and New York. These Boats make two Voyages a Month from the States to Texas and the Number of Slaves thus transported across the Gulf of Mexieo may be estimated at one hundred each Boat per Month. Nothing would be deemed more just My Lord than the Seizure of the Boats thus employed,—Con[sidering] that Mexieo the Country which in the eyes of Great Britain still holds the Sovereignty of Texas, Was the first civilized Nation that abolished Slavery, and that, that act was not only seized by the British Government of 1824 as the Medium of renewing our intereourse, which had been suspended for four or five Years, but was also made the ostensible basis on which our future relationship with Mexico was to rest,—And that the Legislature of Texas, (if she may for an instant be deemed an Independent Republie) the Country to which the Slaves are taken, has made the Importation of Slaves by Sea piracy, and lastly the United States, the Country to which the Boats belong, as if to demonstrate to the World Her repugnance to the Slave Trade, In the Month of May last seized six small vessels in the Port of New York on a mere suspieion that they were fitting out for the Slave Trade. The Federalist Standard has been used, and is for the most part supported by the Texain and American Citizens. The Government of United States, have commenced pouring supplies into Texas, in order that She may be able to fulfil her engagements with the Federalists, and if Texas can only get suffieient Slave

this revival of public interest to the disadvantage of Texas. Great Britain had treaties with various European powers granting mutual right of search of vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, but the United States had refused to make such a treaty. The position of Texas in the matter was therefore of importance. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 55.)

labour to develop her resources the Federalists must succeed eventually, when we shall see Slavery revived and perpetuated, and other Institutions still more injurious to our Interests, and repugnant to our National prejudices established throughout Mexico, whose dismemberment at this or any future period must prove most ruinous to British Interests in that quarter.

The recent alterations which have been made, with regard to the Western Boundary of Texas is also worthy of Your Lordship's attention. Up to the Month of May 1840 the Republic of Texas claimed the whole territory West of the Sabine River which divides Texas from the United States to the Rio Grande or Rio del Norte, but at the period above mentioned, the Republic of Texas ceded the Territory lying between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, to the New Republic of Rio Grande.<sup>1</sup> The Nueces being the Eastern Boundary of the State of Cohahula which separated it from the Province of Texas as laid down by the Council of Department, for the Provinces or States, established under the Federal Constitutional Act of 1824, but should the Federalists fail in their attempt to establish the Independence of the Republic of Rio Grande, Texas will doubtless lay Claim again to the Territory in question.

Should Your Lordship wish any further information on the Subject of the Importation of Slaves to Texas, or any other relative to the present state of that Country, I shall any time feel great pleasure in supplying Your Lordship with such facts as come under My own immediate Notice

I have the Honour to be, Your Lordship's

Very Humble, Obedient Servant

Nichs. Maillard

To The Right Honourable.

Viscount Palmerston. M. P.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs etc. etc. etc.

<sup>1</sup>Needless to say, this statement had no foundation in fact. For an account of the Republic of the Rio Grande see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 326-32.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

HOOK TO PALMERSTON<sup>1</sup>

Copy.

April 30th. 1841.

My Lord,

In the Month of March last year I had the honor of submitting for your Lordship's perusal a short sketch of the Republic of Texas. Since that period, a combination of circumstances, Political, Commercial and Moral have taken place there, which in my humble opinion, justly claims the early attention of Her Majesty's Government.

In soliciting the honor of Your Lordship's consideration of the following Statements, I beg leave most respectfully, to inform you, that I have used much exertion to obtain my information from sources on which I can rely for Correctness, and that in adopting this Method of addressing Your Lordship, I have two grand objects in view, viz:—The *extension of British Commerce* and the Abolition of Slavery.

The political Change which has taken place in Texas since March last cannot be unknown to Your Lordship. Since that period the Govmt of France has officially acknowledged the independence of Texas, and her Ambassador, Genl Henderson, has been received at Court by His Majesty, the King of the French, and M. Soligny,<sup>2</sup> Minister of France to the Republic of Texas has been received by the President at Austin with marked respect.<sup>3</sup> Since March last

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2. Hook has not been positively identified. A James Hook was appointed in July, 1842, as "Commissioner of Arbitration in the mixed British and Foreign Courts for the Suppression of the Slave Trade," at Sierra Leone, and arrived at that place, from England, on December 3, 1842. Whether or not he was the writer of this letter is uncertain. (British Sessional Papers, 1843—Commons—vol. LVIII. Correspondence on the Slave Trade, Class A, p. 1.)

<sup>2</sup>Saligny.

<sup>3</sup>Three treaties had been concluded also by Hamilton, for Texas, and Palmerston, for Great Britain; (a) a treaty of amity and commerce, involving recognition of Texas (November 13, 1840); (b) a treaty providing British mediation between Texas and Mexico (November 14, 1840); (c) a treaty giving mutual right of search of vessels engaged in the African slave-trade (November 16, 1840). The first and second of these treaties were transmitted to Texas on December 3, 1840, but the third was not sent until January 4, 1841, Hamilton writing that the delay was due to his anxiety that the slave-trade treaty should be carried to Texas by a confidential friend, A. T. Burnley, who could explain the necessity Hamilton was under of signing a treaty he had had no authority to negotiate. British agents suspected Hamilton of delaying the treaty in the hope that

year many thousands of Anglo Americans, British and Germans have with their families and property become settlers in the Republic of Texas. This together with the recognition of her independence three years ago, by the United States has greatly consolidated her power. She now possesses a Civil, Military and Naval Strength more than adequate to secure her self against any attempt which Mexico might make to reconquer her lost Province. Indeed the daily encreasing power of Texas, and the continued revolutions and counter revolutions of Mexico are sufficient proof for my making this assertion.

Before entering on the purport of my letter, *extention of Commerce and the Abolition of the Slave trade and Slavery in Texas*, permit me briefly to call Your Lordship's attention to the happy position of this new Republic as a Commercial Country, and its immense value to Great Britain as such. And the[n] point out a plan by which I firmly believe that Slavery may be forthwith abolished in Texas, which, when accomplished, would prove a powerful engine in the hands of Abolitionists towards extinguishing that moral pest in the United States, an event devoutly to be wished for;—An event which all Europe and Millions in America wish to see accomplished, and which must infallibly take place.

Should I be so fortunate as to succeed in inducing Your Lordship to honor my suggestions by taking effective Measures to exterminate Slavery in Texas, I shall ever rejoice in having been the humble Agent who called Your Lordship's Attention to a Measure which, when attained will prove an endless [blessing?] to the human family; and to Your Lordship, it will add another Claim of gratitude for Your invaluable labours in this holy cause, from every friend of freedom in the British Empire.

Though I am possessed of a minute account, written by an eye witness of the rise, progress, and final achievement of the manner

when Texan approval of the first and second treaties was received. Great Britain would ratify them without waiting for the third. The result was unfortunate. Texan sanction of the first and second treaties was transmitted to Hamilton on February 12, 1841. On February 21, Burnley, writing from Houston, sent the slave-trade treaty to the Texan government too late for approval by congress, which had adjourned. Great Britain insisted on exchanging ratifications of all three treaties at the same time, and thus all were unduly delayed until June 28, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III. 919-943, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II; Worley, in *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 11-16; Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 67-68.)

in which the Texians gained their independence of Mexico, as made known to the World by the proclamation of their delegates dated March 17th<sup>1</sup> 1836, yet as such account, though interesting, is not absolutely necessary for my object, I shall not increase the length of my letter by inserting its details.

The Republic of Texas is of much greater extent than was the Province of Texas while forming part of the late Mexican Confederacy. When Texas declared her independence of Mexico in 1836 she was joined by the State of Tamaulipas which lies North and east of the Rio del Norte, and likewise by all that part of New Mexico which lies east of the same, together with the Province of Santa Fé. The boundary of Texas as at present defined, is as follows. Beginning at the Mouth of the Rio del Norte, about the 26th. degree of North latitude, and up that River to its source thence a due North course to the source of the River Arkansas, the boundary line of the United States, following that River in its various windings to the 100th. degree of longitude from London. Then a line due North [South] to the Red River, following the course of the Red River to a line due North from the junction of the Sabine River with the 33d [32d] parallel of latitude, and about the 94th degree of longitude, then following the course of the Sabine River to its termination in the Gulf of Mexico, taking the Coast Westward, include the various Islands, to the Mouth of the Rio del Norte. Texas, therefore has a mean length of about 700 Miles, a breadth of about 450 Miles and a sea coast of nearly 500 Miles in extent, containing in all about 250,000 Square Miles. These and other corrections together with the Sites etc, are duly set forth in the Map of Texas attached to this letter,<sup>2</sup> but of course allowances must be made for this early geographical Map of the new Republic of Texas.

It is extremely difficult to give any thing like a correct statistical account of the Republic of Texas. The reports from thence, even from persons just returned, are so much at variance with each other, that but little reliance can be placed on them.

The Independent Republic of Texas is, in extent much larger than France, and is now inhabited by freemen, chiefly Anglo-

<sup>1</sup>The independence of Texas was declared March 2, 1836; the constitution was adopted by the convention March 17.

<sup>2</sup>Not found.

Americans and Britons, who have carried with them the language, the habits and lofty love of liberty, that has always characterised and distinguished their Ancestors, and must infallibly produce important effects on Mexico, as well as the Slave States of the Union. To the latter it will form a barrier against her extending the pestelential system of Negro Slavery. And extensive dealings with Mexico cannot fail to introduce great improvement into that rich and interesting Country.

The population of Texas exclusive of Indians and Slaves is about 220,000, and about 40,000 Indians.<sup>1</sup> As to the number of Slaves, I find it quite impossible to ascertain its correctness, but from what I have learned, I believe that their number is yet under 10,000. A copy of an important Tariff as published by the Government is added at the end of this letter.<sup>2</sup> Documents containing an account of the Exports and imports of the Republic have not yet reached this Country.

Perhaps there is not in the records of history any instance of a Nation rising so *rapidly* as the Republic of Texas has done. Within three years upwards of 200,000 emigrants have settled in that Country, and Towns and villages have been raised as by magic. The Town of Galveston, three years ago, consisted of only *three* houses; now, 1840, there are more than six hundred houses many of them elegant dwellings, and a population of upwards of 4,000 Souls. Similar occurrences have taken place at Matagorda, Houston, Austin, and other places. The increase of the population in Canada,—Demerara etc. can bear no comparison with this

One of the most striking features of the character of Texas, is the number of her Rivers, which empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico, and afford the means of extending inland traffic by water. The principal are the Brazos, Colorâdo, Trinidad, Guadaloup, Sabine, San Antonio, Rio de las Nuecis and Naches. Some of these afford the means of Navigation for hundreds of Miles into the upper parts of the Country. Already Steam boats are employed on some of those Rivers.

A mere glance at the accompanying Map<sup>2</sup> will at once show the immense advantage which must accrue to Texas from its fine

<sup>1</sup>Concerning this excessive estimate of the population see note, page 220.

<sup>2</sup>Not found.

rivers and local position. In an inland direction, its Commerce by means of these rivers, may be extended many hundreds of Miles into Mexico, on the one side and the United States on the other. Her means of foreign intercourse from her Shores on the Gulf are excellent. From Galveston to the Mouth of the great river Mississippi, is only two days sail, and from thence we may penetrate by water as far as Canada. In an additional day or two's sail we may reach Vera Cruz, Havanna and other West India Markets. Within thirty days sail from Galveston we may arrive in an English Port, and now that Steam conveyance is about being established, the voyage to Liverpool may be accomplished in sixteen days.

Such is a hasty sketch of the above unequalled Commercial position of Texas, but in this outline I have omitted to notice her means of trade in *furs* with the various Nations of Indians adjoining her territory.

Here it may be necessary briefly to notice the climate, soil and productions of Texas. As to its climate its salubrity is proverbial all over America. The Country has hitherto been exempt from pestelential diseases, and the yellow fever, so common in the West Indies, is here unknown. February is the only winter month, and so very mild is it, that snow is rarely seen, and ice only when the wind blows from the North at that season. The thermometer falls in winter to about 68, and in summer seldom rises higher than 80. In a word the mildness and salubrity of the Climate of Texas has no equal in America.

The newly arrived Anglo American or European Agriculturist and Mechanic are quite capable of pursuing their calling in the same way and to the same extent as they did in their Native Country. In the Northern part of this Republic the climate differs but little from that of the South of Europe.

As to the soil its capabilities are vast.—Perhaps there is no section on the surface of the globe possessing so much fruitful land and so little barrenness. Its virgin soil needs no manure and but little agricultural labour to prepare it for producing all that is valuable either in Europe, Asia or Africa, so very rich and productive is the land in Texas that it will produce two Crops of grain in one year. Good land will raise one bale and a half of Cotton per acre, each weighing from 500 to 600 pounds, and at the present time,

worth about Ninety dollars. It will raise from forty to sixty bush-ells of Indian Corn per Acre.—Its delightful prairies, even in a state of Nature, are perpetual gardens, producing the most delicious fruits,—Flowers the most beautifully variegated and all kinds of garden vegetables, may be obtained in every season of the year.

To enumerate the various productions and capabilities of the "*Garden of the West*" would require the space of a volume, but it would be unpardonable not to point out its *leading productions* and growing commercial worth to Great Britain.

Nature has evidently given to Texas commercial advantages which she has denied to every part of Mexico and other surrounding States. Few Countries, if any, are more favorably situated for carrying on an extensive and lucrative foreign and domestic trade. Its resources are immense.—Bounded on the South and West by the rich mining districts of San Louis Potosi, New Mexico and Santa Fé, it must form the medium of Communication between those parts and the civilized world. This circumstance, and the commercial position of Texas cannot fail to have a considerable influence on the future destiny of the surrounding Nations, while at the same time, its trade in *bullion* will be extensive and profitable.

It is true that Texas is capable of producing almost every thing which we import in a raw state from foreign Countries, but like other Nations, she too, has her *staple articles*. The first, and decidedly, to Great Britain, the most important is her *Cotton*. Her soil, climate and position for producing this most valuable Article has no equal, and though in England more than one Million and a half of people are employed in this trade, Texas can produce more Cotton, and at a cheaper rate than we at present consume. I would here beg leave to observe, that we, in payment for this and other raw Materials, give our manufactured goods of Manchester, Glasgow, Sheffield and Birmingham. I need not stop to point out the great advantage which must arise to our merchants and manufacturers from such a Commerce. The immense value of a growing customer like the Republic of Texas, must be obvious to all. She is, and will be for more than a hundred years to come, destitute of all kinds of manufacturies, whilst her daily encreasing population and wealth will require a supply of almost every thing made

in this Country, for the payment of which, as before stated, she will give us bullion and *raw Materials*.

Among the many valuable productions of Texas, its *timber* may be mentioned. The live oak is one of the largest; it grows to an enormous size, some trees measuring fifteen feet in circumference and maintaining this size, more than thirty feet from the ground. Besides the live oak, there are the White oaks, elm, cedar, eypress etc. For ship building the live oak of Texas is superior to any other on the Continent, and what renders this timber still more valuable for exportation is, that it grows mostly near the rivers, by means of which it can be cheaply floated down to the sea coast for shipping. And as shippers embarking Cotton would be glad to ship Oak as ballast, it could be imported into England at a much less cost than the teak of Sierra Leone or any other place.

In addition to the bullion, cotton and timber, Texas also exports, Hides, Furs, Beeswax, Salted provisions, Flour, grain, horses, cattle, etc.

The Republic of Texas offers a field for almost unbounded enterprise, it[s] wonderful capabilities for productions—Its happy position and enterprising inhabitants prove that it possesses within itself, all the elements of national greatness and prosperity.

The contiguity of the rich, but feebly governed Republic of Mexico and its almost total ignorance of Manufacturies, will of course be taken advantage of by the enterprising Merchants and traders of Texas. It is not only the consumption of British Merchandise in the Markets of Texas to which we ought to look but also through her with Mexico and the adjoining Countries.

The prospects of trade between our own Country and Texas are highly important and are founded on the great reciprocal principle of the latter being able to furnish us with nearly all that we want in the way of produce, cheaply and in return, she will take our manufactured Cottons, Woolens, Silks, Hardwares etc.—A commerce founded on such a basis must become flourishing and tend to cement a valuable connection between the two Countries.

The Texian Government has adopted in her judicial Code, trial by jury, and allows free exercise of all religions. She has authorised the adoption of the English language in all legal proceedings, and it is the general language throughout Texas. In January last

both houses of Congress passed a resolution, establishing the Common law of England as the basis of Texian jurisprudence.

The importation of Slaves by sea into Texas, constitutes the crime of felony, and is punishable by *death*. But, unhappily, she permits Slaves to be brought across the boundary line between her and the United States. And though in one sense this may not increase the number of Slaves in America, yet as the Climate of Texas is infinitely superior to that of the Slave districts of the United States it will tend to prolong the existence of Slavery.

Having thus sketched the commercial position and capabilities of Texas, it needs but little argument to prove that an immense advantage would accrue both to Great Britain and the Republic, by forming a Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations.

The government of the United States ever alert in fostering and extending her commerce, was the first to acknowledge the Independence of Texas, by which Act she secured commercial privileges of great value to her Merchants. In Europe, France was the next to follow the example of the Government of Washington. An important Treaty of Commerce between France and Texas has been effected, and which treaty was duly signed and ratified by the Senate of Texas on January 22nd 1840.<sup>1</sup> This act on the part of France was not done without due enquiry into the Affairs and stability of the Government of Texas, for which purpose a Mission, consisting of two commercial Gentlemen, was sent out by the French Government to collect correct information as to the commercial and political Affairs of Texas.<sup>2</sup> On the report of this Mission a treaty as above stated was the consequence.

The latter observations naturally bring me to the most important part of my letter, viz—to suggest to Her Majesty's Government, the propriety, I had almost said the necessity of our forming a treaty of commerce with the valuable Commercial Republic of Texas. Indeed, from the immense amount of British property already embarked in the Texian trade a Government protection of our interest appears indispensable.

I have good reasons for stating that the Government of Texas

<sup>1</sup>The treaty with France was ratified January 13.

<sup>2</sup>The writer, perhaps, had in mind the visit of M. Saligny to Texas in 1839. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1271, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, II, 1908.)

is most desirous of forming a Commercial treaty with Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and that to obtain this it would gladly listen to the most liberal terms, as to commercial intercourse. And also conclude Arrangements for the final abolition of Slavery throughout the Texian Republic. In order to accomplish this great object, I think the present circumstances are peculiarly favorable, and that Her Majesty's Ministers have now an opportunity of inflicting a Mortal wound on the giant slavery existing in the United States, by simply forming a Commercial treaty with the Independent Republic of Texas, but in which treaty the full Abolition of slavery should be made the *Sine quâ Non*.

When Texas first achieved her Independence, her population was small, and in her hour of need and difficulty, her then Government sanctioned the Planters and Slave Owners of the United States, with their Slaves, to settle in the New Republic, but *now* her situation is greatly altered.—Her population has immensely increased, and is daily increasing, not only in numbers but also in physical and moral power. In this respect she has exceeded the expectations of her most sanguine friends

The number of Slaves already in Texas is, as before mentioned, not large, and it is generally believed that her Government would readily entertain any feasible plan by which this blighting section of her laws might be for ever expelled from her judicial Code.—The friends of abolition are numerous and powerful even in that Republic.—The persons in Authority at present are also disposed to get rid of Slavery and would gladly listen to the proposal if accompanied with a treaty of Commerce from Great Britain. Indeed the moral tone and influence already produced by the large numbers of Emigrants from Europe and the Northern States of America already begin to assume an import station [important character?] in favor of freedom.

Many of the Slaves now labouring in Texas are only *hired* out by their owners in the United States to the Texian Planters, who can afford a much higher rate of Wages to labourers than is paid in the Union, with such there could be no difficulty

The very important commercial treaties lately effected by Your Lordship, and your coadjutors afford a most substantial proof of willingness and activity in behalf of the general commerce of our Country, and as the cause which I am humbly advocating, com-

bines both Commercial interest and philanthropy, I am induced to hope that Her Majesty's Ministers will be pleased to undertake this additional great Measure towards the extinction of Slavery in America.—A Measure which could not fail to establish their popularity throughout Great Britain, and call forth the lasting gratitude of every friend of the human race.

By effecting the final abolition of Slavery in Texas, we at once extinguish that horrid traffic in a Country which, *without* our interference, might become one of the most extensive Slave Markets in America. And instead of a Slave State, we should, by our aid, raise up a *Free* and powerful Republic between Mexico and the United States which must ultimately, by example and sympathy, effect a mighty change in the Slave districts across the Sabine River.

Should the proposed plan for extinguishing Slavery in Texas, be followed by a treaty for a similar purpose, with Spain, and Brazil, Slavery would, thereby receive its death blow in the New World, and its nefarious pursuit on the Coast of Africa be rendered fruitless. In a word, this would *effectually close all the great Markets for Slaves*, and do more towards putting an end to the export Slave trade in Africa than any number of Ships which we may send to sea for that purpose. I need say nothing about the immense saving of expence and valuable lives which would result from this plan.

Before closing my observations, permit me to give an extract from an able writer on the present Chinese question which appears to me scarcely less applicable to our connection with Texas than the Celestial Empire

“It is, says he, “practically impossible for any Nation to carry on a quiet lucrative commerce with others, and yet refuse to enter into some species of deplomatic relation with them. The inconvenience of the want of such recognized relations may be indured for a season, but individual violations on one side or the other, are sure at some time or other to bring the reductio ad absurdum.”

In concluding I would beg to add, that if ever there was a period when the general trade and commerce of Great Britain required the aid of Government in securing New Markets for our Merchandise, it is certainly the present. Our powerful oponents in Europe, and

the United States of America, meet us as rivals in every Market in the Universe.

The Government of France and the United States have gained the start on us in Texas, but I trust that the day is at hand, when our Merchants and Ship Owners shall have their persons and property, in the New Republic, protected by an Agent or Consul of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and if necessary, that She will be pleased to order a Mission, as was done by France last year, to be sent out for the purpose of making an authentic report of the present situation of the Government.—Commerce—Slavery, etc of Texas. The commercial interests of our Country and the sacred cause of philanthropy equally join in the appeal to Her Majesty's Government.

I have the honor to be. My Lord. Your Lordship's  
Most Obedient, humble Servant

James Hook.

The Right Honorable.

Lord Viscount Palmerston. M. P. etc. etc. etc.

#### NEPEAN TO DOUGLAS<sup>1</sup>

*Copy.*

H. M. Sloop "Comus."  
Jamaica 24 July. 1841.

*Confidential.*

Sir.

As far as I can understand the nature of these Despatches, gleaned from Messrs. Welde and Harrison,<sup>2</sup> the Commissioners, our Government at home, are desirous of bringing about a reconciliation between Mexico and her lost province of Texas, and I have been given to understand that Mr. Pakenham has been ordered

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2. Evan Nepean, Commander of the *Comus* from May 9, 1839, to March 4, 1842. Peter John Douglas, Commodore on the *Magnificent* from 1838 to November, 1841; and Commander-in-Chief of West Indian Squadron, June 21 to September 30, 1841. (Brit. Sess. Papers, 1852—Lords—vol. 17. Return of Naval Appointments, 1831 to 1851.)

<sup>2</sup>Not identified.

to act as Mediator between the two parties, but I fear hitherto with little or no success.<sup>1</sup>

It is very certain that Mexico has great reason to feel indignant, at the bad faith and total want of honesty on the part of the Texians in the first instance, but as these people are now become a free and independent Republic and recognized as such by the great powers of Europe, it is folly to contend any longer against the state of things which is totally out of the power of Mexico to remedy.

So far the Texians have made a very fair offer, namely, that if Mexico will recognize her as an independent nation she will take upon herself a portion of the debt due to England, to the amount of one Million Sterling to be paid by instalments a most exorbitant sum for a people just emerged out of the forest. But by all accounts the resources are being developed with a most surprising activity, and her population has increased within this five or six years from 4,000 to 300,000,<sup>2</sup> and is continuing to augment in the same ratio indeed even with the physical strength She now possesses, She may bid defiance to the Mexican Armies. It will therefore be good policy on the part of Mexico to accept the terms proposed, less a more disadvantageous state of things should arise, which might oblige [her] to make a still greater sacrifice for sooner or later Texas will, by force of Arms oblige her to come to terms, and instead of losing one Province, she may find herself sure of [losing] one or two more.

The totally disorganized state of the Government of Mexico is such, that she will in all probability fall to pieces even without any

<sup>1</sup>Various overtures for peace had been made. In October, 1838, Palmerston instructed Pakenham to use his good offices toward peace; and, in 1839, the latter sounded the Mexican government but received little encouragement. In the same year, Bee, aided by Pakenham, began overtures to Mexico but with no result; while in December, 1839, Hamilton outlined to Pakenham the terms of the Texan offer, and a little later James Treat was officially commissioned to present these terms to Mexico. Thus Pakenham had been active *before* the treaty of November 14, 1840, providing British mediation was negotiated; but did practically nothing after that date until June, 1841, when he supported unsuccessfully the proposals of Texas made through Judge Webb. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 27-62. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 340; Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 470, in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1908, II.)

<sup>2</sup>See note, page 220.

external aid; the whole body politic is corrupt, beyond what in Europe would be supposed.

I heard from good authority that Tampico, and the province to which it belongs were on the eve of separating, the crisis will in all probability be hastened since the refusal on the part of Mexico, to receive either by word or deed, the advances made by the Texian Commissioners which I heard at the Havana, had been the case and that all communications had been refused

I expect that on their return, this circumstance will exasperate their Countrymen to the utmost, and unless England can keep them within bounds, they will make Mexico with every man that is capable of carrying a Rifle, taking into consideration their being well stocked with funds, having made a very successful loan in France,<sup>1</sup> and that they have already a large party in the Country in their favour, they will in all probability succeed for the Yucatanians will so combine their movements as to make a simultaneous attack on both extremities at the same moment.

I understand that these latter people have a strong party in their favour at Vera Cruz, as elsewhere along the Coast they have already the nucleus of an Army in the field, and their Cruizers have several times appeared off[f] the Castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, to reconnoitre while we were lying at Sacrificios.<sup>2</sup>

To give you some idea of the Gaspillage<sup>3</sup> going on even at Vera Cruz, I heard it repeated over and over again that the Battery erected against the Schooner San Bernard<sup>4</sup> was merely to draw Money out of the Treasury, the Sand Bags cost nearly 7,000 Dollars, and afterwards resold:—the Military and those employed pocketed nearly two thirds of the sum, it is in this manner the public Money is fritted away from one end of the Republic to the other.

General Vittoria, the Governor, has long been in a deplorable state of health, brought on, I understand, by intemperance: he

<sup>1</sup>The negotiations for a loan in France were not successful.

<sup>2</sup>Sacrificios, a small island south of Vera Cruz. "Vessels of war of other nations anchor about three miles below [San Juan de Ulloa], near the island of Sacrificios." (Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, 2.)

<sup>3</sup>That is, wastefulness.

<sup>4</sup>This incident is also referred to by James Webb. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 751, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

was not expected to live when I left. I believe he knew little of what was going on, at the period just mentioned.

With this state of things there appears a most perfect apathy of the Republic at large, or more particularly in the interior; All the bigoted old Spanish prejudices against foreigners appear to be again reviving, and the present rulers have come to the mild decision, that as they have every thing they want in their own Territory, they can do without Foreign Commerce: thus the heavy duties on every Article of Manufacture. Every one appears to be aware of the unfitness of the present Men to govern them, and they are now groaning under a complete Military Despotism

I mention these circumstances, thinking it adviseable for the public Service that one British Man of War at least should be permanently stationed at Vera Cruz. The French have always two, and others, I understand are expected. The Americans have also two, these Squadrons have their rendezvous at Pensacola The Spaniards have one Vessel.

I am etc.

Evan Nepal.

Commander.

Commander P. T. Douglas.

Senior Officer. etc. etc. etc.

Jamaica

[Endorsed] In letter from Admy. of Octr. 21. 1841.

PALMERSTON TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

F. O.

Draft to Captain Elliot.

August 4, 1841.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you that The Queen has been graciously pleased to select you to be Her Majesty's Consul General to the

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3. Sir Charles Elliot (1801-1875), entered the British navy in 1815, and saw active service until 1828, when he virtually retired, being thereafter employed in the service of the foreign or colonial office. In 1834 he went to China as secretary to the trade commissioners, and in 1837 became chief superintendent, thus being the British official in authority at Canton at the time of the Opium War of 1840. The war was checked by a preliminary treaty arranged by Elliot; but the treaty was disavowed by both British and Chinese governments, and the war was revived, while Elliot was superseded. On his return home, he was for a time unemployed, but was subsequently sent to Texas,

Republick of Texas. Your Commission in that Character, under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, will be forthwith prepared, and on your arrival in England, you will be furnished with the Instructions of H. M's Government for your guidance in the Post to which Her Majesty has appointed you

I have at the same time to state to you that Her Majesty has also been graciously pleased to signify Her intention of causing you to be accredited to the Government of Texas in the further Character of Her Chargé d'Affaires, so soon as the Ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation which has been concluded between Her Majesty and the Republick of Texas, shall have been exchanged.

P.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

*Private.*

31 Surrey St. Strand.

October 12th. 1841.

My Lord,

At the interview with which I was honored yesterday, I took leave to suggest the expediency of having an Agent (unaccredited as he must necessarily be) to visit the Capital of Texas, and report to Your Lordship of the progress of Affairs there, and such Matters

where he held the position of British chargé d'affaires until Texas was annexed to the United States. He later was governor of Bermuda, 1846-54; of Trinidad, 1854-56, and of St. Helena, 1863-69. (Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2. William Kennedy, born 1799 and educated in Ireland; early took up journalism and literature as a profession. He came to London in 1830, where acquaintance with The Earl of Durham resulted in Kennedy's accompanying the latter to Canada in 1838. On Durham's retirement, Kennedy traveled during 1839 in the United States and resided some months in Texas gathering material for a book, which was published in London in 1841 under the title *The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (2 vols.), in which the cause of Texan independence of Mexico was maintained and great prosperity prophesied for the new state. Kennedy's subsequent career in Texas will be clearly brought out in the correspondence. This letter marks the beginning of a special mission he undertook to Texas in 1841. On his return to England in 1842, he acted for a short time as Texan consul in London, but later in that year was sent to Galveston as British consul, holding this position until the end of the Texan Republic. Broken in health he retired on a pension, and from 1849 until his death in 1871 resided in Paris. (Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston as British Foreign Secretary, August 30. 1841.

as may have an important bearing on British interests, ere the consummation, of the Treaties with Texas by the Government of this Country.

Those Treaties will certainly be the Subject of debate in Parliament<sup>1</sup>

The publication of the Correspondence between Lord Palmerston and General Hamilton on the Slave Trade Treaty, in the Times Newspaper of today,<sup>2</sup> strengthens my conviction of the expediency of sending a British Agent to Texas.—I cannot doubt that the arrival of that paper in the United States will be followed by instructions to the American Chargé d’Affaires in Texas to oppose the ratification of the Treaty in question.

Now, My Lord; as the Texain Congress will meet in November, it would be necessary, for the efficiency of an Agent, that he should leave England, at the latest, on the 4th of November.

As the Service of an unaccredited Agent at such a Season of the year, in a New Country, would be accompanied by toil and privation, without ostensible reward—and as I ventured to exhibit reasons in favour of the appointment—I beg to state that I shall be happy to undertake the duty Myself—in case Your Lordship should not have a more competent person in View—desiring merely the allowance of my reasonable expences—but relying on my efficient discharge of the delicate trust devolved upon Me as the basis of my future claims to consideration at Your Lordship’s hands.

I am not without hope that My presence as an Englishman possessing some popularity in Texas, would be useful in counteracting French influence—promoting the Ratification of the Slave Trade Treaty, and, perhaps, in opening the way to the mitigation or abolition of domestic Slavery.

I shall be in London on Thursday, to await the favour of Your Lordship’s reply.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship’s Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

<sup>1</sup>See note 3, p. 230, for a list of the treaties and a statement of the cause of delay in ratification.

<sup>2</sup>Also printed in *British and Foreign State Papers*, (1840-1841), XXIX, 617-621.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>*Private*

31 Surrey St. Strand

October 20th. 1841

My Lord,

I have been in London since the evening of Thursday last, for the purpose of awaiting the favor of Your Lordship's reply to my Communication of the 12th Inst. On Saturday next my affairs constrain me to return to the Country.

Before my departure I beg to inform Your Lordship that I have reason to believe that General Houston, who has heretofore appeared as the leading advocate of French interests in Texas, has been elected President of that Republic. The reintroduction of the Franco-Texan Bill,<sup>2</sup> under his Presidency, may naturally be expected

A new revolution has broken out in Mexico—Military Associations,<sup>3</sup> for the purpose of overthrowing British rule and influence in North America, have been formed, from Maine to Missouri—the planters of Cuba are growing impatient of British interference in the Slave Trade—these matters—which necessarily fall under Your Lordship's Cognizance—may, I humbly conceive, be referred to in support of my opinion that the interests of this Country require the early presence of an Agent in Texas.

I believe there are few among the great party leaders in the United States who do not look to the speedy extension of the Federal Union from Hudson's Bay to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of California with the Island of Cuba as an insular appendage.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

<sup>2</sup>The Franco-Texan bill provided for the seestablishment of a French company, with authority to introduce 8,000 French colonists who were to settle near forts, at least twenty in number, erected and maintained for twenty years by the company along the northern and western frontier from Red River to the Rio Grande. The company was to receive for its services 3,000,000 acres of land, provided the colonists were introduced and located according to contract. Other concessions to be granted the company related to the working of mines and to trade and commerce. (*Austin City Gazette*, July 21, 1841.) The bill passed the house of representatives of the fifth congress but was defeated in the senate.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

<sup>3</sup>The reference is to the "Hunters' Lodges" and similar organizations along the northern border of the United States, formed to express sympathy with and give aid to Canadian rebels in the rebellion of 1837-1839.

I beg to enclose to Your Lordship some remarks on the North-Western Boundary question, published in the *Times* Newspaper of the 9th Inst. which I wrote for the purpose of awakening attention to the subject of American encroachment in that quarter, being thoroughly convinced that, unless English influence be employed in raising up a stable independent power on the South-Western and North Western frontiers of the Union, a very few years will suffice to place the whole of the territory they covet under the Sovereignty of the United States. *There* lies the danger to the Maritime and Commercial supremacy of Great Britain.

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

*Private.*

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St.

Haymarket. Novr. 6th. 1841

My Lord,

When I was last in London, I submitted to Your Lordship's consideration a copy of an Act of incorporation which, in 1840, nearly passed the Congress of Texas—and which aimed at securing to a French Company commercial and territorial advantages pregnant with mischief to British interests both in Mexico and Texas. I remarked, with reference, to this Act, that its reintroduction into the Texain Legislature, during the present year, was contemplated, and that I had strong grounds for believing that its principal advocate, General Houston, would, in the meantime be chosen President of the Republic.

It now appears, My Lord, by Texan Newspapers recently received, that General Houston has been elected President, and by such large Majorities as warrant the inference that his popularity has not been materially affected by his advocacy of the Franco-Texan Company's mischievous bill.

It will be in Your Lordship's recollection that I volunteered my services, in the capacity of an unaccredited Agent, to proceed to

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

Texas, in the beginning of the present Month; for the purpose of Watching events, and exercising whatever influence I might possess for the benefit of my Country—I took leave especially to advert to the subject of domestic Slavery, which the Slave holding people of the South will not even *discuss* except with those in whose fair dealing and friendly intentions they repose full confidence. The trust of the Texans in me, as the disinterested chronicler of their social rise and progress, is admitted to be considerable and, were I in a suitable position to give strength to my opinions, I indulge the hope that I might succeed in effecting some mitigation of the system, as inducing them to assent to its early abandonment. A leading member of the Anti-Slavery Society<sup>1</sup>—(a body whose mode of operating upon Foreign States is perhaps more zealous than judicious) admitted, when discussing the matter with me, that any representations I might make were likely to have peculiar weight with the planters of Texas.

It is my thorough Conviction that it is essentially the interest of Texas to link herself closely with England, and, as a natural incident of the connexion, to substitute free for compulsory labour. The arguments I should offer for the relinquishment of domestic Slavery would be based on this Conviction

On my return from Texas in 1839, I had some reason to look forward to such an Appointment in the Republic as would have enabled me to promote directly the general policy of England in that quarter. But Lord Durham who had conveyed to me in a manner the most gratifying to my feelings his approval of my Canadian Services and his desire to advance my public fortunes, stood aloof from the Ministry of the day, and I restricted my application to the Office of Consul at Galveston, as a Situation which, if affording fewer opportunities of active usefulness, promised to be more attainable by a Man whose personal pretensions derived but little support from Parliamentary influence, or family connexion.

From the Considerations which are known to govern Your Lordship in the discharge of your official duties, I am encouraged to believe that these details will not be deemed irrelevant to the application which I have the honor to submit to Your Lordship, and for

<sup>1</sup>Meaning the British Society.

the courteous and considerate acknowledgment of which I shall always esteem myself Your debtor.

I have the Honor to be. My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

*Private.*

Gregory's Hotel, Arundel St.  
Haymarket. Novr. 9th. 1841.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's Note of Yesterday, and, in accordance with the intimation it conveys, shall do myself the pleasure of waiting upon Your Lordship, at the Foreign Office, on Thursday next, at two o'clock.

I have just been assured that the United States are actively intriguing to effect the Annexation of Texas, and that the newly-elected President, General Houston, (the friend and protégé of General Jackson) is not unfavourable to their object.

I Have the Honor to be. My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>2</sup>

*Private.*

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St.  
Haymarket. Novr. 12th /41.

My Lord,

I leave town today, and shall not return previous to my Voyage, unless Your Lordship should entrust me with despatches for Washington, and require my presence to receive them. In requesting despatches it is under the impression that the travelling expences of the bearer are allowed by the Government.

In order that the safe and speedy transmission of my correspond-

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

ence be secured, it will be requisite, that I should have a letter to the British Consul at New Orleans, instructing him to aid in forwarding my Communications

May I beg the favour of such a letter addressed to me under cover at 3 King's Road Bedford Row (London) whence it will be transmitted by my Agent Mr. Pringle. I shall be also glad to receive, through the same channel, any special instructions which Your Lordship may be pleased to give, and to learn, after the arrival of the Halifax Steam Ship, whether or not I shall be entrusted with despatches, and on what day I shall be in London to receive them.

I shall be rather pressed for time, in consequence of remaining in London for the purpose of having the interview of yesterday with Your Lordship.

I Have the Honor to be. My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Faithful Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

P. S.

I have taken my passage by the Halifax Steamer of the 19th. Inst.

#### KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

*Private.*

Marine Villa, Hornsea,

East Riding of Yorkshire November 13th. 1841.

My Lord,

I beg respectfully to submit to Your Lordship the following points in reference to my contemplated Communication on the Affairs of Texas.

Leaving Liverpool by Steam on the 19th. Inst. I cannot calculate on reaching the Republic, at this season of the Year, in less than five weeks. It is of importance that I should arrive at Austin, the Capital of Texas, before the Congress has closed its Session. To effect this object, I shall travel onward with all possible despatch

So far as present circumstances enable me to form an opinion,

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

I think the best course I can adopt is to draw up a short Report on the political and economic condition of Texas, and transmit it to Your Lordship, through the British Consul at New Orleans. Allowing me a Month or six weeks for local observation, the Report can hardly be placed in Your Lordship's hands before the close of next March, or the beginning of April

In the absence of instructions to the contrary from Your Lordship, I propose to draw up a short Report and forward it to the Foreign Office through the Consul at New Orleans.

My confidential Agent Mr. Wm. Pringle, 3 King's Road, Bedford Row (London) will take care that I receive any Communication addressed under cover to him previous to the day of my departure.

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Marine Villa, Hornsea.

Est. Ridg. of York. Nov. 16th. 1841

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's Communication of the 15th Inst. enclosing a letter to the British Consul at New Orleans.

On the presumption that the letter to Mr. Crawford [can] only refer to the Subject of my request, I shall, probably delay its presentation to that gentleman until I have occasion to require his services

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

53 Cadogan Place.

My Lord,

Decr. 6. 1841.

I have the honor to acknowledge Lord Palmerston's duplicate Despatch dated August 4, 1841, signifying my appointment as Her Majesty's Consul General to the Republic of Texas.

With my thanks, I beg to express my readiness to proceed to my post when ever it may suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government that I should do so. But if there be no necessity for my immediate departure I would request Your Lordship to grant me leave to remain in England for one Month from this date.

I have the Honor to remain. My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T. etc. etc. etc.

CANNING TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Dft. Capt. Elliot.

F. O. Decr. 14. 1841.

Sir.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6 inst—expressing your readiness to proceed to Texas as H. M's Consul General whenever it may suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government that you should do so, but if there be no necessity for your immediate departure you request leave to remain in England for one Month; and I am to state to you in reply, that Lord Aberdeen accedes to your request to remain in London for the time specified

Canning.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>3</sup>

Galveston. Texas.

My Lord.

Jany 10th. 1842.

I had the honor to address a Communication to Your Lordship from New York on the 10th Ultmo.<sup>4</sup> which I left in the hands of

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3. Charles John Canning, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1841-1846.<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.<sup>4</sup>Letter not found.

Mr. Chas. Edwards<sup>1</sup> (an Englishman occasionally employed as a legal adviser by Mr. Fox)<sup>2</sup> to be by him forwarded by the *Acadia*, Halifax Mail Steam Packet

On the 28th of last Month I reached New Orleans, which I left on the 5th Inst. for Galveston, where I arrived on Sunday the 9th. I proceed by Steam today to Houston, about eighty Miles from this place, and from Houston I shall go on direct to Austin, the Capital of the Republic, in the hope of arriving there before Congress breaks up. My course will be through a wild Country, where rivers are to be crossed without the aid of bridges or boats, and Indians to be avoided. The rainy season has set in, and if I can get over thirty Miles a day I shall consider Myself fortunate.

Writing as I do, upon the wing, I can only touch briefly and generally upon such Matters as have fallen under my observation.

During my short stay in the United States I had good opportunities of ascertaining the state of Commercial and Monetary affairs. It is deplorable—and if the lately passed Bankrupt Law goes into operation at the specified time (next February) the last remains of an unwholesome System of Credit and overtrading will be swept away. In New Orleans, the banks (which were chiefly created by British Capital) are sustained in a course of virtual insolvency by the apprehensions of the traders and planters, who are anxious to procrastinate the evil day. My own experience supplies a curious illustration of banking management in New Orleans: When I reached that City, the Bank of Louisiana and one or two kindred establishments (capable of paying their Notes, but incapable of repaying the Shareholders) evinced a determination to resume specie payments and to discredit the Notes of such Banks as did not follow their example. Having a letter of credit on the Correspondent of Messers Baring & Co., I received from him a cheque on the Bank of Louisiana for a certain sum, the said Bank having, with its partners, in policy, agreed to defer the resumption of specie payments for some Months, to afford time for the weaker establishments to strengthen themselves or arrange for liquidation. On presenting the cheque at the Bank of Louisiana, I was not only

<sup>1</sup>Charles Edwards, an English lawyer in New York City, and for twenty-five years counsel to the British consulate at that place. (Appleton, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, II, 305.)

<sup>2</sup>Henry Stephen Fox, British Minister at Washington, D. C.

unable to obtain specie—but the Notes of the Bank itself and was obliged to accept the Notes of the weaker institutions which had been to a material extent discredited by the directors of the Bank on which the Cheque was drawn,—I was obliged to call upon a friend to effect an exchange of the Notes I received for others of a less unstable character.

In furnishing information, at the instance of Mr. Fox, early in the Spring of 1839, I expressed the opinion that the United States was on the Verge of bankruptcy.—The justice of that opinion is manifested by the existing state of the Country which, abounding in the Means of Material prosperity, presents a lamentable appearance of exhaustion and demoralization. Before its energies are recruited and confidence restored, England will, I fear, be yet a greater sufferer than She has been.

The condition of the United States is both favourable and unfavourable for Texas, favourable, inasmuch as distress has induced many of the planters to emigrate to her rich lands and unfavourable as it deprives her of pecuniary aid under the financial embarrassment of her Government. These embarrassments are extreme—in fact, the local currency issued by the Government is, for circulation, useless, and almost unmarketable at any price.

Planters and farmers with some Capital are the only Settlers *at present* suitable to Texas, the population of which, I have reason to believe, has been over rated. This class of persons is succeeding very well, notwithstanding the prostration of public credit. A better class of emigrants has entered Texas during the last year than at any preceeding period. I still consider the successful invasion of the Country by Mexico as *wholly impracticable*—Nor am I disposed—(so far as I have recently observed)—to think that the Texans would seek annexation to the United States unless constrained by financial exigency and inability to defray the cost of Government, which has been greatly augmented by the unsettled state of their relations with Mexico. The President of the United States being a Virginian, and anxious to strengthen the Southern interest in Congress, is understood to be desirous of annexation. It is alleged in the Texan Newspapers that the question will be raised on the proposition to admit the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa as free States into the Union,—the Southern delegation opposing their admission, unless they are allowed, as an equivalent,

to receive Texas into the Confederacy. I see, by an Austin Journal of a late date, that a resolution for empowering President Houston to treat for the Annexation of Texas to the United States has been submitted to the Senate.

I beg to enclose to Your Lordship the Inaugural Message of President Houston, delivered at Austin on the 20th of last Month.<sup>1</sup> It is a vague and uninstruetive document, and its Author is charged with exaggerating the debt and difficulties of the Country, with a view to depreciate the character of the preeeeding administration. The administrative Maehinery of the Republie has, however, been worked under the most discouraging circumstances, and to me the marvel is how they have contrived to keep it in operation at all, in a thinly populated territory, unsustained by Capital, harrassed by border inroads and threats of invasion. Whether the continued pressure upon a young and struggling Country has not created, or may not create, a general desire to seek relief in the arms of the neighbouring Confederacy remains to be seen.

HOUSTON. Wednesday, Jany 12th.

I arrived here this Morning from Galveston and start tomorrow Morning on horseback for Austin.

The Franee-Texan Bill to which I invited Your Lordship's attention in London, has been again brought before Congress in a modified form. The nature of the modifications and the reception given to the Bill I have not yet learned. I believe its [*sic*] will fall to the ground.

The Slave Trade Treaty between Great Britain and Texas remains unratified.<sup>2</sup> Not, I am informed—from any hostility to its provisions, but in accordance with the wish of General Hamilton to be present at its discussion. General Hamilton who has been expected for some time, has not yet arrived here. It is anticipated that his powers as a Commissioner to negotiate a Loan, will be withdrawn. Should Congress be in Session when I reach Austin, I shall inquire whether the Slave Trade Treaty may not be ratified *at once* and the necessary instrument transmitted to England.

<sup>1</sup>Correct date, December 13.

<sup>2</sup>See note 3, p. 230.

The late President Lamar, without the requisite Authority from the Legislature, fitted out an expedition of two hundred and eighty men, for the purpose of diverting the Santa Fé trade, hitherto in the hands of the Mexicans, to Texas. Goods was sent with the expedition, and it was supposed that the people of Santa Fé would give it a friendly reception. The expedition has however been captured by the Mexicans, whether by force or treachery the statements at present made public do not enable me to say. Much excitement on the Subject prevails in New Orleans, where, it is said, funds have been subscribed and associations organized for raising Volunteers against Mexico. In the meantime, this petty achievement seems to have awakened a war spirit among the Mexicans, and it is rumoured that Santa Ana is preparing to attack Texas by land and Sea. There is another report that he is willing to cede it as a Mexican Department to the United States, in liquidation of certain indemnity Claims. Under every aspect of its affairs, the tendency of Texas is towards annexation with the Mexican [American] Union, unless she is sustained by the friendly offices of England. A few years of quiet would render her prosperous and populous supplying to British Emigrants a new field for their industry, and to our Manufacturers a profitable Market for their goods. But she will require for some time a superintending eye and prudent Counsels.

My tour in the Western Settlements will probably occupy me for four or five weeks. Until I return to Galveston I shall be unable to transmit letters to Europe.

Requesting Your Lordship's indulgence for the defects of a hasty Correspondence, and sincerely anxious to forward such information as may advance the interests of my Country.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Austin, Texas. Jany. 28th. 1842.

My Lord,

I arrived at Austin on the 17th of this Month, and fortunately found Congress still in Session, and both the Government and the people well disposed to listen to my representations

In consideration of my work in [on?] Texas, I received a vote of thanks from both Houses of Congress, and was invited to a Seat within the bar of the Senate and Chamber of Representatives.

On inquiring respecting the Slave Trade Treaty, I was informed that, at the Special request of General Hamilton its presentation to the Senate had been delayed until his arrival in Texas, where he has not yet appeared. Apprehending nothing but Mischief from another twelve Month's delay, I urged the immediate ratification of the Treaty upon the President and Senators, and am happy to say that on the 22d Inst. it passed the Senate by a *unanimous vote*<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to enclose the copy of a Note from the President, which I beg respectfully to submit for Your Lordship's consideration. It strikingly indicates the financial embarrassments of the Government.

The popular feeling is undoubtedly swaying strongly towards annexation to the United States. And if this feeling is to be allayed, Great Britain must interpose her Mediation with effect for an *early* Settlement of the differences between Mexico and Texas. To a young Country the threat of invasion is hardly less injurious than invasion itself. Mexico *can never reconquer Texas*, and the

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>While it is true that General Hamilton had requested that the senate's action on the treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade be delayed until his arrival in Texas, the prospect of an adjournment of congress before Hamilton could arrive prompted President Houston to submit the treaty by message dated January 12, 1842. The president made no comment whatever, but referred to "the letters of General Hamilton explanatory of the objects of the Treaty." (*Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 214, 215.) Kennedy arrived at Austin January 17th; Hamilton on January 31st. The treaty was read the first time on January 14. and ratified on the 22d. Kennedy cannot be credited with having influenced the president's action in submitting the treaty to the senate; how much his advocacy during the interval from January 17 to 22 contributed toward the unanimous ratification of the treaty it is impossible to ascertain; that his advocacy was necessary to secure favorable action may well be doubted. But see Houston to Kennedy, below, page 259.—  
EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

sooner the present dubious condition of affairs is terminated the better for both

General Hamilton's popularity here is gone; his powers as a Loan Commissioner have been revoked and he will no longer be authorized to act as a diplomatic agent of the Republic

Although the Government suffers from an exhausted Treasury, the Settlements are extending and prospering, and such are the natural resources of this magnificent Country, that three years of peace and wise administration would suffice to relieve it from all its difficulties.

At the request of General Houston (the President) I have volunteered a communication to Mr. Pakenham at Mexico respecting the Santa Fe prisoners of whom between forty and fifty are, I understand, British Subjects. I have ascertained the names of fourteen (four of whom are Natives of Scotland) and have transmitted them to Mr. Pakenham, whose interposition on behalf of those prisoners who may be Citizens of Texas would be a grateful and opportune act

Congress is to rise on Monday,<sup>1</sup> and I shall proceed immediately after farther West; then return by the Coast to Galveston and thence to New Orleans, where I shall embark for England which I hope to reach in April.

Having only received recent intimation of the departure of a Government Messenger with Despatches for Galveston, I have been obliged to use all despatch in writing this Communication

I have the Honor to be. My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy

The Right Honble.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

<sup>1</sup>Monday, January 31, 1842; congress adjourned Saturday, February 5, 1842.

HOUSTON TO KENNEDY<sup>1</sup>

Copy.

City of Austin Texas.

28 Jan'y. 1842.

My Dear Sir.

Before your departure from this place, I must be permitted to make a request of you

Should you find it within your control, you will much oblige me by informing the British Government of the particulars touching the delay, and subsequent ratification of the Treaty on the subject of the "Slave Trade" by this Government

For the consummation of this business, I cannot but feel that the Executive is under many obligations to you for the lights afforded him upon this subject by yourself. Owing to the representations of our agent at London, had you not been here, I am inclined to believe, or rather I am satisfied, that it would not have been ratified at the present session of Congress.

In making this request of you, I claim the right of an apology, on the ground that our agent at London, Gen. Hamilton, has been recalled under a resolution of Congress. And with a perfect knowledge of our situation you will not suppose that an agent, such as would be desirable for us. will be sent to England, owing to the condition of our *finances*.

Should I not have the pleasure of meeting you again, previous to your departure for England, I will anticipate the happiness of again meeting you in Texas; as I sincerely hope Her Majesty's Government may think proper to send you to Texas in some relation which may be agreeable to you, as your return will be to the people, and particularly to your very sincere friend

Sam Houston.

[Endorsed] In Mr. Kennedy's Letter of Jan 28/42

HAMILTON TO ABERDEEN<sup>2</sup>

(Duplicate)

Galveston Texas. Feby. 20th. 1842

My Lord,

I desire to revoke the recommendation which I made in behalf of Mr. Kennedy, for the Consulate of Her B. M. at Galveston,

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3. Enclosed in the preceding letter.<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

Texas, as I deem that individual as utterly unworthy of Your Lordship's confidence.

I have transmitted Mr. Kennedy a Copy of this letter.

I remain very respectfully

Your Lordship's, Yr. Most Obed. Servt.

J. Hamilton.

The Right Hon. Lord Aberdeen.

Her Majesty's P. Sec. of Foreign Affairs.

#### HAMILTON TO KENNEDY<sup>1</sup>

(Copy)

New Orleans, March 4th. 1842

Sir,

I beg leave to enclose you a letter<sup>2</sup> I addressed to Lord Aberdeen, which not following the course you pursued towards myself at Austin, I think it both frank and honourable to communicate to yourself.

Gen Johnson will receive any Communication you may have for me. I beg leave to inform you that you will find me on your way through the States to [at?] Charleston until the 1st. July—In this as in all other Cases responsible for my own acts and seeking neither shelter or concealment

I remain Your Most Obed. Servt.

J. Hamilton

Wm. Kennedy, Esq.

#### KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>3</sup>

New Orleans, March 8th. 1842

My Lord,

I arrived here yesterday from Galveston in Texas, and having just learned that letters are about to be forwarded by the Solway, West India Mail Steamer, I hasten to apprise Your Lordship that I intend proceeding direct for England in a day or two, and on my arrival in London shall be happy to submit to Your Lordship

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>See preceding letter, Hamilton to Aberdeen, February 20, 1842.

<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

information which I have obtained during my recent visit to the neighbouring Republic

I have the Honor to be, My Lord

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. etc. etc. etc.

HAMILTON TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

(Private and Confidential).

Per Halifax Steamer.

Charleston, March 25th. 1842

My Dear Lord,

I enclose You duplicates of a dispatch addressed you from New Orleans by the Royal Mail West India Steamer, for fear of the apparent irregularity which seems to attend that mode of conveyance

Mr. Kennedy has behaved with such perfidy and ingratitude towards myself that I am convinced he is totally destitute of all principle.

He reached Texas before me, and finding from the Jealousy of the present President of Texas, Gen. Houston to myself, (lest I should supplant him in influence with the people of Texas) that he would obtain favour by joining in the current of prejudice which thro' the instrumentality of the President was running against me, and strange to say (he an Englishman and I a Slave Holder) one of the grounds of his assault was, that I was confederating with an association at Exeter Hall<sup>2</sup> to abolish slavery in Texas.

His flattery of President Houston (who to say the best of him, is one of the least respectable persons in Texas) has secured to him a large Empesari or Grant of Land,<sup>3</sup> and the understanding that Mr. Kennedy is to write Gen. Houston's Life, has perhaps

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>A building on the Strand, London, used for religious and charitable assemblies, and long the eustomary meeting place of the British Anti-Slavery Society.

<sup>3</sup>William Kennedy, William Pringle, and associates obtained a contract to introduce 600 families. A number of contracts similar to this one were made about this time.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

been equally influential in procuring for him the Consul Generalship to Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

In relation to this last Appointment Your Lordship must allow me to make a remark or two. In the first place the Appointment is unknown to the Laws of Texas, but this of course is not a question for Her Majesty's Govt., if President Houston, thinks proper to be guilty of an act without the authority of Law. But there is one ground upon which I think Her Majesty's Govt. might deny him an Exequatur, and that is, his assertion that by not appointing him to the Consulate at Galveston,<sup>2</sup> you have been guilty of an implied breach of faith and injustice.—If you think proper to take this ground you are quite at liberty to give me as your authority. He not only said this to me, but to other Gentlemen of respectability.

Lord Palmerston will give you some items of intelligence respecting Kennedy, which will let you not the less understandingly into his character. If you were to refuse to recognise him as Consul Genl. you would gratify a great many of the most influential and respectable of the people of Texas, who have regarded his ingratitude to me and sycophency to Houston with unspeakable disgust.

He will undoubtedly lay claim to having done many things of inestimatable value to Her Majesty's Govt., in Texas. His acts of value were to himself, if they turn out such?—to evil in defeating a measure for the Sale of the Public Lands on Government account<sup>3</sup> and getting grants for a French Company<sup>4</sup> and himself—by which I am sure not a few Air-bubbles will be blown, to take in the unwary.

The Treaties will go over for Exchange by the next Steamer, about which I trust there will be no difficulty.

I shall be in London in July ready to offer to your Govt.—a Contract for Live Oak, in conformity with the advices, I gave

<sup>1</sup>Kennedy was nominated Texan consul-general in London and was confirmed by the senate February 3, 1842.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

<sup>2</sup>Kennedy was tendered the British consulate at Galveston in June, 1842.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

<sup>3</sup>For the details of this plan, see *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 221-224.

<sup>4</sup>Henri Castro obtained a contract to introduce 600 colonists on the same date that Kennedy concluded his contract.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

Your Lordship last Autumn, and about which I shall write Sir Robt. Peel, by this opportunity, with whom I shall be gratified if Your Lordship will confer and lend your co-operation.

You will have seen Santa Anna's Letter<sup>1</sup> to myself—which has since been confirmed by an actual invasion of the Country by Genl. Aristo<sup>2</sup> at the head of 14,000 Men. I have no doubt Aristo will be crushed before he reaches the Colorado. If he is not I shall claim my privileges of citizenship in Texas, and strike as hard and as heavy as I can

The Star of Empire will travel West, and no Man can tell *where* we shall stop

Nothing can exceed the infatuation of this people, apparently doomed, or the Union and enthusiasm of the People of Texas—In any event be assured we will take care of English interest.

I remain my Dear Lord with sincere respect and esteem your  
Most Obt. Servt.

J. Hamilton

The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen

Her B. M. P. S. for Foreign Affairs.

P. S. If the Republic of Texas had passed the Act providing for the international Guarantee of its Loan,<sup>3</sup> I should have offered the Commercial privileges to G. Britain or Belgium, which ever Govt. would have accepted them. But President Houston found it, a cheaper policy to recommend repudiation, than to Contract a new Loan

<sup>1</sup>Presumably this refers to Hamilton's letter to Santa Anna, offering an indemnity of \$5,000,000 to be paid by Texas in consideration of her recognition of independence by Mexico. Santa Anna's reply declared that an immediate reconquest of Texas was to be undertaken. (*Niles' Register*, LXII, 50.)

<sup>2</sup>Arista. A force of 500 men under General Vasquez penetrated Texas as far as San Antonio, but after two days retreated quite as precipitately as it had come.

<sup>3</sup>General Hamilton's reference is to a project of a commercial legislative compact between Belgium and the Republic of Texas. (*Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 222, 223.)—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>*Private.*On board the Roseins,  
Liverpool. April 20th. 1843.

My Lord,

I take the earliest Moment of informing Your Lordship of my arrival in the port of Liverpool, by the packet ship Roseins, from New York. In a day or two,—after the arrangement of some private affairs—I shall be in London, and wait upon Your Lordship's leisure for an interview.

Since my departure from England, in November last, I have addressed four Communications to Your Lordship, from the following places in succession—New York—Houston (Texas), Austin (Texas) and New Orleans. The letter from Austin announced the Ratification of the Slave Trade Convention by the Senate of Texas, and enclosed the copy of a Note upon the subject, addressed to me by the President, General Houston

In reference to my Communication from New York, I beg to state that *no Belgian Loan Commissioner*, visited Texas during my sojourn there; but Captain Pirson (late Secty of Legation at Constantinople) arrived on a Mission of inquiry into the condition and resources of the Republic, and prosecuted his researches with great assiduity.<sup>2</sup> I left M. Pirson at Galveston and the bearer of despatches from him to M. van de Weger (Belgian Minister in London) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

There is reason to believe that the story of the Belgian "Loan Commissioner" originated with General Hamilton, who may have deemed such a report not unfavourable to his financial operations and his friendly reception in Texas. If this were the calculation, General Hamilton must have been signally disappointed

I intimated to Your Lordship that a formal resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States had been submitted to the Texan Senate, during the late Session of Congress. This reso-

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Mexico, vol. 158.

<sup>2</sup>In 1841, Hamilton had asked Belgium to guarantee a Texan loan for \$7,000,000, in return for which Belgian imports to Texas were to be favored by discriminating duties. Pirson was sent to Texas to investigate, and was there regarded and addressed as "Belgian Commissioner." (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 946. 1528, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

lution was permitted to drop, at the suggestion of the Secty of State, who correctly stated that all action on the Matter must commence with the Executive;—the Confirmation of whose policy must rest with the people, in a Convention of the whole

I do not think I arrogate too much to myself in saying that the Confidence reposed in me by the Government and people of Texas materially contributed to allay the excitement in favour of immediate annexation to the United States, which prevailed at the period of my arrival in the Country. I obtained, at all events, a suspension of the question until the dispositions of Great Britain could be known. The position of that question is now materially altered by the Mexican invasion. Unacquainted, as I am, with the views of Her Majesty's Government, and the information in their possession, I am reluctant to hazard an opinion as to the probable result of the invasion, but I greatly fear that it will eventually prove as injurious to English interests, as it will be *temporarily* detrimental to Texas, and *permanently* injurious to Mexico. A few Months will determine every thing. Affairs are complicated and the times critical.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. etc. etc. etc.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

Mr. Jesse Sumpter died at Eagle Pass on November 20, 1910. He was born February 21, 1827, in Owen county, Indiana, but for more than sixty years was a resident of Eagle Pass, where he was inspector of customs.

Philip Lindsley, an attorney and distinguished citizen of Dallas, died at his home December 4, 1911. Judge Lindsley removed from Nashville to Dallas in 1875. After practicing law for twelve years he became an investment banker and real estate broker. He was a writer of rare wit and the choicest diction, and contributed many articles to periodical literature. His *The Humor of the Court Room* appeared in booklet form (Dallas, 1899).

Littleton W. Moore, Judge of the Twenty-second Judicial District, died at his home in La Grange, October 30, 1911. Judge Moore was born March 25, 1835, in Alabama, was reared and educated in Mississippi, and came to Texas in 1857. He served in the Confederate army through the war, was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1875, and was three times elected to Congress—1886-1892.

Portraits of the late Judges Hans Teichmueller and Littleton W. Moore have been placed in the courthouse at La Grange.

A Confederate monument was unveiled at Kaufman, November 23, by the Judah P. Benjamin Camp, U. D. C.

Designs were approved on December 7, 1911, for the monuments to be erected by the State over the graves of Mrs. Elizabeth Crockett and Governor George T. Wood. The monument over the grave of Mrs. Crockett is to be in Italian marble and to represent the pioneer woman. The monument over the grave of former Governor Wood is to be a marble slab and is to show on one side a map of Texas in relief.

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### DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF TEXAS AND THE UNITED STATES, 1839-1843<sup>1</sup>

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL

During the first administration of Houston the keynotes of Texan diplomatic relations with the United States were recognition of her independence and annexation. The first of these had been attained by the last official act of Andrew Jackson, but annexation met with greater difficulty. Opposition developed in the United States Congress to such an extent that the offer of annexation was withdrawn in October, 1838, two months before the close of Houston's first administration.

The election of Lamar to the presidency of Texas brought about a changed attitude in diplomatic relations. Lamar desired to see Texas develop into a great independent republic; he hoped to build up her finances, to secure the recognition of foreign powers, to gain an acknowledgment of Texan independence from Mexico, to

<sup>1</sup>The publication of *The Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*, edited by George P. Garrison, in the *Reports of the American Historical Association*, 1907 and 1908, and of the *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, edited by Ernest William Winkler, have made possible the writing of this paper. They will be referred to respectively as *Tex. Dipl. Corr.* and *Secret Journals*. The author wishes to extend his thanks to the Editor of THE QUARTERLY and to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, in whose seminar this paper was prepared, for many helpful suggestions.

extend her trade relations by commercial treaties, to expand the boundaries, and to establish a system of education.

It is the object of this paper to trace the diplomatic relations of Texas and the United States during this period of nationalism and to show their outcome in the second administration of Houston. The subject of annexation has recently received extended treatment from several able historians;<sup>1</sup> in consequence the present writer will treat that subject only when necessary to explain the course of events with which this paper specifically deals.

The most important step toward the accomplishment of Lamar's plans was to secure his country from Mexican aggression. Mexico had not acknowledged the independence of her rebellious province and was continuing a predatory warfare in the neighborhood of the Rio Grande. Torn with internecine strife, assailed by France,<sup>2</sup> and confronted with rebellion in Yucatan, Mexico had scant means to carry on more than guerrilla warfare against Texas.<sup>3</sup> The time appeared auspicious for coming to an understanding. Accordingly the plan was conceived of sending an agent to Mexico and of instructing the Minister to the United States to attempt to secure the good offices of that government in undertaking the rôle of mediator.

On February 20, 1839, Barnard E. Bee was appointed to go to Mexico.<sup>4</sup> The fact that he was selected shows the importance which the Texan government attached to the mission. Bee had occupied the position of Secretary of War in Houston's first administration, and resigned from the office of Secretary of State to conduct the negotiations in Mexico.<sup>5</sup> He was given a double commission, one as agent to the government of Mexico, the other as Minister.<sup>6</sup> It was not believed that he would be received in the

<sup>1</sup>Garrison, "The First Stage of the Movement for Annexation," in *The Am. Hist. Review*, X, 72-96; Garrison, *Westward Extension*; Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*; Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*; Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*.

<sup>2</sup>Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, 186-205.

<sup>3</sup>Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 33; Bancroft, *North Mexican States, and Texas*, II, 326-332, 351.

<sup>4</sup>Webb to Bee, February 20, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 432-437.

<sup>5</sup>Baker, *Texas Scrap Book*, 289; *Texas Almanac*, 1858, p. 99; *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 23.

<sup>6</sup>Webb to Bee, March 7, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 437-438.

latter capacity, as that would be a virtual recognition of the independence of Texas, hence the double commission. Bee was authorized to negotiate for peace, and to make a treaty, if it could be secured with the unconditional recognition of the independence of Texas, and if possible, with the boundary at the Rio Grande. If Mexico would not agree to that boundary, he was empowered to make a treaty of peace and recognition, leaving the question of limits to be settled by a future treaty. He was given one other alternative, as follows: "Should Mexico express a willingness to establish peace, and recognize the Independence of Texas to the extent of her original boundaries when forming a part of the Mexican Confederacy, but peremptorily refuse to admit our claims to the entire territory embraced within the limits defined by the act of Congress [December 19, 1836], you may propose a compromise by negotiating for the purchase of all that portion of it which is not within the original boundaries, at a stipulated price; but the sum to be thus stipulated for it must not exceed five Millions of dollars. . . ."<sup>1</sup> In other words, the offer to purchase was practically identical with the terms of the proposal which President Jackson made to Mexico in 1829.<sup>2</sup>

On March 13, 1839, General Richard G. Dunlap was sent to the United States as Minister.<sup>3</sup> He was a man of high standing, having been Major-General of volunteers in Tennessee. Hearing of the Alamo disaster, he had determined to join the Texans in their struggle for independence, and offered to raise two thousand volunteers, but the battle of San Jacinto made this unnecessary. He went to Texas in 1837, and later became Secretary of Treasury under Lamar, which position he held previous to his appointment as Minister. Upon arrival at Washington he presented the idea of mediation to the State Department. Forsyth expressed a willingness on the part of the United States to interpose, but with the proviso that it would not do so unless Mexico so desired. The answer of Forsyth was indicative of the cautious-

<sup>1</sup>Webb to Bee, February 20, 1839, *Ibid.*, II, 432-437.

<sup>2</sup>Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 65-67, note; Barker in *The Am. Hist. Review*, XII, 789.

<sup>3</sup>Webb to Dunlap, March 13, 1839; two letters, Webb to Dunlap, March 14, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 368-376.

ness of the Van Buren administration. The answer, however, tended to stimulate the hopefulness of Dunlap.<sup>1</sup>

Bee, in the meantime, had arrived at Vera Cruz. He found it both convenient and discreet to stay on the French frigate *La Gloire* until given permission to land.<sup>2</sup> News of his arrival being noised abroad, the Vera Cruz *Censor* published an article which spoke of "the audacity of those brigands in sending us their pedlar to ask us to allow the peaceable possession of their robbery. . . ." It further stated, "The Commandant said that he was not aware of the existence of a nation called the 'Republic of Texas,' but only of a horde of adventurers, in rebellion against the laws of the government of the republic."<sup>3</sup> In spite of this Bee was allowed to land. General Victoria, who was in command at Vera Cruz, immediately communicated with the Mexican Council of State regarding the Texan proposals. That body unanimously rejected any overtures based upon the idea of independence. While awaiting the reply of the Council, Bee received private letters which threatened him with imprisonment. Victoria, however, treated him with courtesy, and when the rejection came, urged that Texas reunite with Mexico. On May 24, 1839, Bee informed his government that his mission had failed, and a few days later set out for the United States by way of Havana.<sup>4</sup>

In June Dunlap, at Washington, heard of the rejection of Bee, but he still believed that Mexico would not refuse the offered mediation. He took steps to obtain an interview with Martínez, the Mexican Minister; in this he experienced considerable difficulty, but when it was once attained, he soon believed himself on confidential terms with that astute individual.<sup>5</sup> To fully understand Dunlap's dealings with Martínez, it is necessary to know what had been transpiring in Texas.

After the return of Bee, James Treat had been appointed by Lamar a private and confidential agent to Mexico.<sup>6</sup> But little is

<sup>1</sup>Dunlap to Lamar, May 16, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 383.

<sup>2</sup>Bee to Webb, May 9 and 10, 1839, *Ibid.*, II, 443-444.

<sup>3</sup>Translation in Morphis, *History of Texas*, 413.

<sup>4</sup>Bee to Webb, May 13, 24 and 28, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 444-445, 447-450.

<sup>5</sup>Dunlap to Forsyth, June 26, 1839, *Ibid.*, 408-409; Dunlap to Burnet, October 12, 1839, *Ibid.*, I, 418-421.

<sup>6</sup>*Secret Journals*, 149.

known of the life of Treat previous to this time. He assisted Texas in 1836, while in New York; he had been in Mexico, and was acquainted with political conditions there. He was recommended to the Texan government by Hamilton, Bee, Dunlap, and others.<sup>1</sup>

The principal point in the negotiation with which Treat was entrusted was the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas, the boundary to be fixed at the Rio Grande. The instructions also said,

Before submitting this ultimatum on the subject of a boundary line, you will feel the authorities of Mexico in relation to a different division of Territory. You may suggest to them a line commencing at the mouth of the Rio Grande mid way of its channel, up that stream to the Paso del Norte and from thence a due west line to the Gulf of California and along the Southern shore of that Gulf to the Pacific Ocean. This boundary will not be strenuously insisted upon but may be intimated as a counterpoise to any extravagant expectations on the part of Mexico and as a premonition to the Government of the ultimate destination of that remote Territory.

Treat was further authorized, as Bee had been, to offer not more than five million dollars for a relinquishment of Mexican claims to the Texan side of the Rio Grande.<sup>2</sup>

In the instructions no mention was made of mediation. Treat observed this omission and asked his government for information.<sup>3</sup> Burnet, Acting Secretary of State, replied that the original instructions were deficient, and added others to the effect that the treaty

shall be acted upon . . . at the city of Mexico, or the City of Washington or at the Capitol of this Republic, leaving it to the Mexican Authorities to select the location. But as the mediatorial interposition of the Government of the United States has been conditionally proffered and will be cordially accepted by this Government it would probably be conducive to the permanency of the

<sup>1</sup>Hamilton to Lamar, June 22, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 450-452; note a, *Ibid.*, II, 451; *THE QUARTERLY*, XV, 316, note 2.

<sup>2</sup>Burnet to Treat, August 9, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 470-471.

<sup>3</sup>Treat to Bee, August 13, 1839, *Ibid.*, II, 475-476.

peace to be established, to conduct the negotiations at the Capitol of that Republic. It is understood that Mr Ellis the Minister from the Government of the United States to that of Mexico, has been instructed to signify to that of Mexico the desire of the United States to see the difficulties between Texas and Mexico amicably adjusted.<sup>1</sup>

Treat proceeded to New Orleans and then to New York for the purpose of raising funds for paying his expenses before proceeding to Mexico.<sup>2</sup> He communicated with Dunlap and no doubt informed him of his instructions,<sup>3</sup> for Dunlap now suggested to Martínez that the boundary line be settled by running it to the Pacific; in other words, the line as proposed in a part of Treat's instruction. To this the Mexican Minister replied, "Not being empowered by my official attributes to enter into any argument on the very important points to which you refer therein, I shall be constrained to limit myself solely in the present case to the communication of its contents to my Government, whose decision on the subject will be communicated at your convenience." This letter, to quote Dunlap's expression, made him "truly happy."<sup>4</sup>

Dunlap's mission had thus far accomplished little. He had enemies in Texas who were at work against him; Bee was in the United States and was available. The Texan Senate refused to confirm Dunlap's nomination and Bee was appointed.<sup>5</sup> He did not assume his duties, however, until April 20, 1840, Dunlap remaining at his post until Bee's arrival.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Burnet to Treat, August 19, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 476-477. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 37, says, "in the course of 1840 and 1841 a secret agent and two plenipotentiaries were sent to that country [Mexico]." Bee and Treat were sent in 1839. The present writer was in error when he stated in a recent article that Treat arrived in Mexico in 1840; see *THE QUARTERLY*, XIV, 290.

<sup>2</sup>Treat to Lamar, September 3, 1839, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 477-478. Texas loan commissioners were then trying to raise funds in the United States, but had met with little or no success. Treat had been given a bill against the commissioners which the Bank of the United States refused to purchase. He later obtained money from the United States Bank of Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*, II, 491.

<sup>3</sup>Treat to Burnet, September 3, 1839, *Ibid.*, II, 478-482.

<sup>4</sup>Translation, Martínez to Dunlap, October 9, 1839, and Dunlap to Martínez, October 9, 1839, *Ibid.*, I, 423-424.

<sup>5</sup>*Secret Journals*, 117-118, 142, 177-178.

<sup>6</sup>Bee to Lipscomb, April 21, 1840, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 447-448.

An incident of border warfare occurred opportunely to open the way for a renewal of the request for mediation. President Lamar had issued a proclamation forbidding the citizens of Texas to participate in the domestic feuds of Mexico. A small body of troops carried the proclamation to the Federalist camp beyond the Rio Grande; while returning, they were killed by Mexicans.<sup>1</sup> The facts were presented by Bee to Forsyth, who coldly replied, "Nothing has occurred since the communications on that subject [mediation] from this Department to the Predecessors of Mr. Bee as the Representatives of Texas here, to render a change of the determination of this Government expedient,"<sup>2</sup> an attitude which Dunlap had failed to grasp.

After this rebuff, Bee, who was in ill health, went to South Carolina to visit his family, remaining away from Washington until the following December. Nathaniel Amory, Secretary of Legation, was left in charge.<sup>3</sup> This apparently peculiar action of the Minister, for which he later was called to account, was not without reason. The securing of the mediation of the United States, the primary object of the mission, had failed; moreover, a presidential campaign was in progress, and it was hoped that the successful candidate would be more friendly to Texas than the Van Buren administration had been.<sup>4</sup>

Complaints concerning the depredations of Cherokees, Caddos, and other tribes from the United States were frequently made by the Texan government,<sup>5</sup> and Bee, upon his return to Washington in December, determined to take up the question.<sup>6</sup> In 1833, Forsyth had expressed himself in such a manner that the Texan Minister had not seen fit to press the matter.<sup>7</sup> Bee found him in

<sup>1</sup>Amory to Lipscomb, May 8, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 452.

<sup>2</sup>Forsyth to Bee, May 4, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 453.

<sup>3</sup>Amory to Lipscomb, May 8, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 452; Bee to Lipscomb, December 16, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 471.

<sup>4</sup>*Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., III, Doc. 14, p. 9; Amory to Lipscomb, November 12, 1840, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 466-467.

<sup>5</sup>See calendar of printed correspondence for numerous documents on this subject, *Ibid.*, I, 25-30; also Dunlap to Poinsett, April 16, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 446-447; Archer to Arbuckle, June 11, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 454; Lipscomb to Bee, March 31, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 463-464; Lipscomb to Bee, August 8, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 464-465.

<sup>6</sup>Bee to Lipscomb, December 16, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 471.

<sup>7</sup>Amory to Lipscomb, November 12, 1840, *Ibid.*, I, 466-467.

the same humor on this occasion.<sup>1</sup> He was equally cold when J. Pinckney Henderson, the Texan envoy to England, was arrested in New York on account of a responsibility incurred by endorsement of notes. Bee contended that his office of Minister should have protected Henderson from arrest and that it was the duty of the United States government to prosecute the individuals who had caused his detention.<sup>2</sup> After a discourteous silence of six weeks, Forsyth deigned to reply that he considered the decision of the court as ample satisfaction. Bee had had enough; he decided to postpone matters until the new administration.<sup>3</sup>

In order to understand the future negotiations with the United States, a brief summary of the dealings of Texas with other countries seems necessary. Relations with Mexico will first receive attention. Treat had arrived at Vera Cruz on November 28, 1839,<sup>4</sup> and left Mexico in October, 1840.<sup>5</sup> He succeeded, largely through the aid of the English Minister, Pakenham, in getting his proposals before the Mexican Council.<sup>6</sup> But Ellis, the American Minister, was intent on pressing claims for indemnity, and gave him little or no assistance.<sup>7</sup> After a protracted negotiation, Mexico stood firm in refusing the Texan proposals, and Treat left the country. Soon afterward, it was decided to make no further overtures to Mexico.<sup>8</sup> In France, J. Pinckney Henderson had succeeded in concluding a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, on September 25, 1839. It was ratified by the Texan Senate in February, 1840. By this treaty France became the first European country to recognize the independence of Texas; the compact was also the first formal commercial treaty entered into by Texas. General James Hamilton succeeded in concluding a similar treaty with Great Britain in November, 1840; but this

<sup>1</sup>Forsyth to Bee, January 23, 1841, *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., III, Doc. 14, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup>Bee to Forsyth, December 14, 1840, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 476.

<sup>3</sup>Bee to Lipscomb, January 26, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 476.

<sup>4</sup>Treat to Burnet, November 28 and 29, 1839, *Ibid.*, II, 500-503.

<sup>5</sup>Treat to Lipscomb, October 17, 1840, *Ibid.*, II, 711.

<sup>6</sup>Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 41-50. Chapter II of this book covers the negotiations of Treat and Hamilton in a most commendable manner.

<sup>7</sup>Treat to Lamar, January 18, 1840, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 529-536.

<sup>8</sup>Waples to Amory, January 5, 1841, *Ibid.*, II, 72-73.

treaty was not ratified until June, 1842. A commercial treaty with the Netherlands was signed September 18, 1840, and was ratified in June, 1841.<sup>1</sup>

It is time now to return to affairs at Washington. The Texas government early in 1841 decided to open negotiations with the United States in regard to the making of a treaty of commerce. Certain other questions, such as Indian depredations and extradition of criminals needed settlement.<sup>2</sup> The inauguration and death of Harrison delayed negotiations, and it was not until April 12 that Bee saw fit to open discussion with Webster, now Secretary of State under Tyler. Bee called upon Webster who received him in a friendly manner, whereupon the subject of a treaty was broached, Bee suggesting that the negotiations be carried on in Texas. Webster replied that he would reflect upon it, but thought that both he and the Secretary of War would prefer to attend to it at Washington, implying that he would be willing to negotiate.<sup>3</sup> Without waiting to follow up his first success, Bee set out for South Carolina on another visit, leaving Amory in charge. He perhaps felt justified in leaving his post, as he had not received definite authority to negotiate a treaty. He was aware, however, that his absence from Washington was displeasing to the home government.<sup>4</sup>

Further instructions concerning negotiations having been received, Amory informed Webster that his government was desirous of concluding a treaty as speedily as possible; he reviewed the Indian question, and suggested that the negotiations be conducted in Texas and that an arrangement be made by which slaves should be allowed to accompany their masters to the United States as body-servants. This suggestion was due to the fact that the introduction of slaves as body servants from Texas into the slaveholding States had been resisted. Some of the State laws prohibited it. In consequence, a treaty allowing it would have brought the national and State governments into collision. Web-

<sup>1</sup>*Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup>Mayfield to Bee, February 17 and March 22, 1841, *Ibid.*, II, 75-78.

<sup>3</sup>Amory to Mayfield, April 14, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 486-487.

<sup>4</sup>Waples to Amory, January 5, 1841, *Ibid.*, II, 72-73; Amory to Mayfield, April 23, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 489-493; Mayfield to Amory, April 24, 1841, *Ibid.*, II, 86-87.

ster replied that he was deficient in information concerning the Indian question, but would give it his immediate attention; he again objected to negotiations being carried on in Texas, and in regard to slaves as body-servants, he did not deem it necessary to provide for it.<sup>1</sup>

During the five years since Texas had declared her independence, in lieu of any arrangement with the United States concerning commerce, she had been placed in the anomalous position of considering the provisions of the treaty of 1831 between Mexico and the United States as binding upon her in so far as they could be applied. This treaty was about to expire, a fact which was made known to Webster.<sup>2</sup> But the Secretary did not see fit to take up the matter at once, being engrossed in the Maine boundary question, although frequently urged by Bee after his return to Washington in June.<sup>3</sup> The Texan Minister, however, busied himself with planning the articles of the treaty, and wrote for a letter of authorization to conclude the agreement at Washington. On July 27, 1841, he wrote a formal letter to Webster in which he stated four fundamental propositions upon which he thought that the negotiation should turn. These were: (1) Free navigation of the Sabine River and the right to ship goods down the Red and Mississippi rivers, (2) establishment of the right of entrepôt on boundary rivers for the transshipment to foreign places of the produce of each country from that of the other, (3) settlement of questions concerning Indian tribes along the border, (4) commercial and maritime intercourse on and near the high seas.<sup>4</sup> The proposal did not bring matters to a head as had been hoped, and the middle of September arrived with nothing accomplished.

On the fifteenth of that month, wearied by delay, Amory, who was again in charge, submitted a synopsis of a treaty, which, in addition to the points stated in Bee's proposal, contained the following items: (1) Provisions for consular rights, (2) right of inheritance of estates of deceased persons dying intestate when

<sup>1</sup>Amory to Mayfield, April 23, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 489-493.

<sup>2</sup>Amory to Webster, May 19, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 496. *Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers* (1889), 673-674.

<sup>3</sup>Bee to Roberts, July 31, 1841, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 506-511.

<sup>4</sup>Bee to Webster, July 27, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 511-513.

temporarily abroad, (3) the treaty to continue ten years. In addition, Bee's proposal to regulate commerce on the high seas was considerably elaborated. Five days later Amory was informed that Webster had examined the synopsis, but that, owing to press of business (meaning, no doubt, the Maine boundary negotiations) and the secretary's absence in the north, nothing would probably be done before December; but December passed without a treaty. In the meantime full powers to negotiate were received.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1842, news reached Washington of the disastrous end of the Texan Santa Fé expedition. Amory immediately applied to Webster for assistance in behalf of the prisoners.<sup>2</sup> Waddy Thompson was sent at this time to Mexico by the United States government, one of the chief purposes being to obtain their release<sup>3</sup> and his mission, coupled with the assistance of other foreign ministers, was successful.<sup>4</sup> At the same time Amory presented his request for assistance, he urged the formation of the treaty; he called the attention of Webster to the fact that the Texan planters were handicapped by not having free use of the Red and Mississippi rivers, and that they should at least have the right of entrepôt at New Orleans with freedom of reshipment to foreign ports. Webster admitted the justice of the demands, but, instead of offering to make a treaty, urged Amory to get some Southern senators to procure the passage of a resolution granting the privilege. Amory followed the advice and applied to Calhoun and others.<sup>5</sup>

Another incident occurred in the closing months of 1841 and in January, 1842, to disturb the Texan diplomats. In September, Bee had been informed that two vessels were being built in New York which were destined for the Mexican navy. They were found to be the *Liberty* and the *Eagle*. An attempt was made by Amory to have them confiscated by the United States Govern-

<sup>1</sup>Amory to Roberts, October 12, 1841, *Ibid.*, I, 515-518, 519-520; Roberts to Bee, September 7, 1841, *Ibid.* II, 96-100.

<sup>2</sup>Amory to Jones, January 4, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 520-523.

<sup>3</sup>Reily to Jones, March 25, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 545-547.

<sup>4</sup>Garrison, *Texas*, 246; Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, 92-100.

<sup>5</sup>Amory to Jones, January 4, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 520-523.

ment. They were seized, but sufficient evidence to warrant their detention not being procured, they were allowed to put to sea.<sup>1</sup>

During the negotiations above noted, Bee had been absent from Washington, his journey taking him as far as New Orleans. The Texan government had undergone a change, Houston having become president December 13, 1841. The frequent absences of Bee and the barrenness of results of his mission gave ample excuse for Houston to bring about a change of diplomats. The letter of recall reached Washington in January, and Amory promptly forwarded the information to South Carolina. Bee, who had returned to the latter state, replied that he expected to be retained until the treaty was concluded. Soon after, he received a second letter of recall, the contents of which determined him not to return to Washington.<sup>2</sup>

One of the letters of recall was especially severe; it said, "I [Anson Jones] am also directed by the President respectfully to inform you that he views your long absence from Washington as a desertion of your Post, injurious to the interests of this Government and disrespectful to that of the United States."<sup>3</sup> Bee was naturally angered, and in a spirited answer defended his actions; he stated that Webster had asked that negotiation of the treaty be postponed until December, and, at the same time, that General Hamilton, in a letter from England dated September 3, had requested that he forbear for special reasons from concluding a compact. Bee declared that he had taken the requisite steps to meet Webster in December and had then set out for New Orleans by way of South Carolina.<sup>4</sup> Bee's defense, though vigorous, was lame. He does not appear to have informed his government of Hamilton's letter, and, furthermore, he was under no obligation to comply with the request. Good diplomacy demanded caution

<sup>1</sup>Bee to Brower, September 22, 1841, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 518; Amory to Jones, January 15, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 527-533.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 534, note a; Amory to Jones, January 20, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 533-534; Bee to Webster, January 21, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 542.

<sup>3</sup>Letter to Bee in the handwriting of Anson Jones, but unsigned, is dated December 27, 1841. A. L. in Diplomatic Correspondence with the U. S., in Texas State Library. The other letter of recall was directed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States and was found in the same file as the first mentioned.

<sup>4</sup>Bee to Jones, January 27, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 534-536.

and immediate communication with the government at home. In December Bee was in New Orleans instead of Washington, in spite of the fact that December had been named as the time for negotiations to be resumed.

Bee was succeeded by James Reily.<sup>1</sup> In 1839 he had been appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate a million dollar loan for the Texas government. In 1840 Lamar had nominated him for district attorney for the fifth judicial district, but the nomination meeting with opposition in the Senate, was subsequently withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> Riley arrived at Washington on March 8, 1842;<sup>3</sup> he was clothed with authority to negotiate a treaty, and was instructed to sound the United States government on the subject of annexation, a matter which had not been broached since 1838. This is a significant fact, because it shows the attitude of the new Texan administration, Houston having been again elected president, and Anson Jones, a staunch supporter of annexation, being selected as Secretary of State.<sup>4</sup> Two days after his arrival, Riley was received by Webster; in this first interview he took up the matter of free navigation of the Red River and found Webster's attitude conciliatory.<sup>5</sup>

News of the invasion of Texas by Vásquez reached Reily on March 24, and the following morning he called upon Webster, urging the pressing necessity that the United States keep her frontier Indians in subjection. In response to this request two thousand troops were massed along the Red River frontier, under General Zachary Taylor.<sup>6</sup>

Webster still delayed entering upon treaty negotiations, his attention being absorbed by the Ashburton mission and the settlement of the Mexican claims. Reily, however, was insistent. On

<sup>1</sup>Reily to Jones, February 2, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 536-537.

<sup>2</sup>*Secret Journals*, 129-130, 177, 179.

<sup>3</sup>Reily to Jones, March 11, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 540-542.

<sup>4</sup>*Telegraph and Texas Register*, November 26, 1845; Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence*, 153, 167; Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 166, thinks that Houston and Jones were not in favor of annexation but preferred to safeguard Texas as an independent nation. It appears to the present writer that more has been read into the documents than they contain, but he is not prepared to offer his full conclusions at this time.

<sup>5</sup>Reily to Jones, March 11, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 540-542.

<sup>6</sup>Reily to Jones, March 25 and 29, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 545-547, 547-550; Webster to Reily, April 7, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 550-551.

March 28 he laid before Webster a communication urging, among other things, the questions of free navigation of rivers and interchange of mails, and President Tyler made these two matters the subject of a special message to Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Reily kept himself informed on the subject of annexation. On April 14 he reported,

I feel satisfied fully that the administration is decidedly in favor of the policy [annexation], and that the Question is a popular one with Congress; as to what would be the majority in the Senate should that body be called upon to act, it is impossible to say two thirds of the Senate being the Majority necessary to consummate treaties. Texas is fast increasing in reputation and character, and by many Northern men is viewed as a country which would be a valuable acquisition to the United States. I am led to believe that one great reason why the negotiation of a Treaty has been postponed and still delayed is, because the administration wishes to make but one Treaty, and that a Treaty of Annexation.<sup>2</sup>

A week after the above report was made, Reily suggested to Webster that they enter into the consideration of a treaty along the lines submitted by Bee.<sup>3</sup> The time of the proposal appeared auspicious, for Webster replied that he would be happy to see him at the department whenever he might call. Reily hastened to take advantage of the opening, but was doomed once more to disappointment; Webster, however, promised that he would take the various points under consideration, hoping in a short time to be able to enter fully and definitely into the subject.<sup>4</sup>

The effect of the Mexican invasion was now shown. In May Reily was instructed by his government not to press the treaty. Owing to the excitement over the Vásquez raid, it was deemed best to "suffer matters to glide along quietly until the U States Govt decides upon the policy of annexation." Houston did not deem the conclusion of the treaty of commerce to be of vital importance, evidently hoping that annexation would be the outcome.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Reily to Jones, March 29, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 547-550; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, IV, 111.

<sup>2</sup>Reily to Jones, April 14, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 551-554.

<sup>3</sup>Reily to Webster, April 21, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 556.

<sup>4</sup>Webster to Reily, April 25, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 556; Reily to Jones, April 28, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 556-558.

<sup>5</sup>Waples to Reily, May 12, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 559.

The question of mediation, after lying dormant for two years, was now brought up again. Reily proposed to Webster that the United States, as the leading power of the continent, ought to interpose with Mexico. Webster expressed a desire that the proposal be put in writing, so that, in case of necessity, the action of the United States might be justified. This Reily did, proposing three alternatives for Mexican consideration; first, recognition of Texan independence with limits as defined by the Texas Congress in 1836; if this were refused, recognition of independence, the question of limits to be left to future negotiations, and hostilities to cease until the settlement of the question; if this also were refused, a third proposal, namely, that hostilities cease for at least five years and then not be reopened without twelve months' notice. The suggestion met with the favor of Tyler and his Cabinet; General Thompson, United States Minister to Mexico, was accordingly instructed to offer the good offices of the government at Washington to end the war.<sup>1</sup>

Webster's letter of instruction pointed out the differences between Texas and Mexico, in language and customs, the long period since the battle of San Jacinto, and the recognition of Texan independence by many states; he stated that the ultimate reannexation of Texas to Mexico was very doubtful; in consequence the United States looked upon the war as useless, and though she could not interfere, she considered it her duty to accept the office of mediator if desired.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after instructions were issued to Thompson, Webster received a letter from Bocanegra, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, who complained that the citizens of the United States were injuring Mexico by aiding Texas; he stated that, had it not been for this aid, the Texans would have been unable to maintain their long resistance. He assumed the position that Texas was still an integral part of Mexico, and hence he must protest against the assistance which came from citizens of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

Upon receipt of this letter Webster penned a long communica-

<sup>1</sup>Reily to Jones, June 24, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 563-566. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 70, says, "So far as concerned mediation we [the United States] stood perfectly aloof."

<sup>2</sup>Yoakum, *History of Texas*, II, 362-363.

<sup>3</sup>Bocanegra to Webster, May 12, 1842, in Webster, *Works*, VI, 442-444.

tion to Thompson in which he defended the action of the United States government. He assumed that Texas had been an independent country since the battle of San Jacinto and stated that it was impossible to stop immigration into Texas. This letter had been on its way but a short time when Webster received a second letter from Bocanegra. The first communication had assumed that, though citizens of the United States were guilty of breaches of neutrality, the government was innocent. He now openly charged that the "very cabinet of the United States, and the subaltern and local authorities, do observe a conduct openly at variance with the most sacred principles of the law of nations. . . ."

To this Webster replied by instructing Thompson to inform Bocanegra that the President of the United States considered the language and tone of his letter as highly offensive, that the United States had always been governed by a strict regard for neutrality in regard to the war between Mexico and Texas, and that if Mexico saw fit to change the existing relations, the responsibility remained with her. This language could not be misunderstood; the attitude of the American government was growing warlike.<sup>1</sup> On July 11 Reily informed his government that the relations between the United States and Mexico appeared strained, and that Tyler had remarked that he did not see how war could be averted. The President had also told Reily that he was anxious for the immediate annexation of Texas. It was feared that the Senate would not ratify a treaty, but Reily felt certain that Tyler would act at once if the Senate would consent. News came at this time that a frigate for the Mexican government was about to be launched in England. Tyler immediately ordered the frigate *Mississippi* to the Gulf.<sup>2</sup>

The day after Webster's last mentioned instructions to Thompson, Bocanegra wrote a letter to Thompson in which he made most bitter complaint against the United States. The note was extremely belligerent in tone, but the disturbed condition of Mexico and her inability to cope with Texas make it appear that the utter-

<sup>1</sup>Webster to Thompson, July 8 and 13, 1842, in Webster, *Works*, VI, 445-457, 459; Bocanegra to Webster, May 31, 1842. *Ibid.*, VI, 457-459.

<sup>2</sup>Reily to Jones, July 11, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 567-569.

ances of her minister were gasconnade.<sup>1</sup> Neither was the American government in a position to desire war. To press the question of mediation might arouse the suspicions of England. The long drawn out negotiations with Lord Ashburton were coming to a close. Bocanegra's last letter, which was dated July 24, must have reached Webster about the date of the conclusion of the treaty with England, which occurred August 9, though the ratification was not exchanged until October 13. Hostilities must not break out in the interim. In consequence the proposition of mediation was not pushed with ardor. Bocanegra ceased to be beligerent, but firmly rejected the idea of American mediation.<sup>2</sup>

The determination of Mexico to reconquer Texas was demonstrated on the day after the final rejection of the American offer. On September 11 twelve hundred Mexicans under General Adrian Woll entered San Antonio. Severe fighting took place there during the following days, and on the eighteenth the Mexican force retreated; its object had been accomplished, however, for Mexico had demonstrated that war of more than a predatory kind was being carried on.<sup>3</sup>

The desire for a commercial treaty now came again to the fore. During the month of July, Reily continued to urge upon Webster the necessity of making such a treaty, and on August 3 his efforts met with success.<sup>4</sup> The draft of the proposed treaty contained twenty-two articles; the first article contained the usual compact for perpetual peace and friendship; articles II-V dealt with commercial relations, freedom of commercial intercourse to be guaranteed, and duties to be reciprocal; the free use of the Red and other rivers rising in Texas or forming boundaries between the two was provided for; right of deposit for five years and reshipment of goods to foreign ports without payment of duty in the United States was allowed; articles VI-XII dealt with blockades, rights of neutrals, prizes and contraband of war; articles XIII and XIV were for the protection of the property of citizens of either country who held property in the other, and for the free

<sup>1</sup>Bocanegra to Thompson, July 14, 1842, *House Ex. Docs.*, 27 Cong., 3 Sess., II, 144-154.

<sup>2</sup>Bocanegra to Thompson, September 10, 1842, *Ibid.*, II, 154-155.

<sup>3</sup>Yoakum, *History of Texas*, II, 363-366.

<sup>4</sup>Reily to Jones, August 3, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 576-580.

transference of such properties; articles XV-XVIII provided for a consular service; articles XIX and XX dealt with the Indian question, each country agreeing to restrain the Indians within its respective borders and to return captives; article XXI provided for extradition of criminals. The final articles stated that the agreement in regard to trade was to last ten years, except the right of deposit above mentioned, and that peace and friendship should be perpetual.<sup>1</sup>

Reily was proud of his accomplishment, and perhaps justly. "I was here alone," he says, "unaided, unexperienced, the representative of a young Government, destitute of political weight and whose commercial importance had not developed itself, and forced to enter upon the discussion of points and topics in which Texas felt the most vital interest, with some of the loftiest and most powerful intellects of the United States; Under such circumstances the accompanying treaty was concluded. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The above letter and treaty do not appear to have been despatched at once to his government by Reily. Having learned that some of the tribes along the border had expressed a wish to make peace with Texas, he thought it desirable to obtain the cooperation of the United States in treaty-making. He accordingly proposed to Spencer, Secretary of War of the United States, that commissioners be sent who should be clothed with authority to make the United States the guarantor of the treaty between Texas and the Indians. This proposal met with the approval of President Tyler, who agreed to appoint the necessary commissioners.<sup>3</sup> Reily appears to have acted in this matter entirely upon his own initiative. His boldness perhaps was due to the fact that he had already received his letter of recall. He had previously informed his government that he desired to end his mission by August 1, and had remained at his post beyond that date because he feared that his withdrawal might be prejudicial to the ratification of the commercial treaty by the United States Senate.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Text of Treaty, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 622-628.

<sup>2</sup>Reily to Jones, August 3, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 576-580.

<sup>3</sup>Reily to Spencer, August 16, and Spencer to Reily, August 17, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 590-593.

<sup>4</sup>Reily to Jones, June 24, and August 18, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 563-466, 590-595.

Reily found it necessary to depart before the arrival of Isaac Van Zandt, his successor; he kept the duplicate of the treaty in his possession until early in September when he forwarded it to the Texan Department of State. Reily heard that the document was lost at sea by the destruction of the steamship, *Merchant*. He promptly wrote Van Zandt to send to the State Department of Texas a copy of his despatch of August 3, which included a copy of the treaty.<sup>1</sup>

Houston sent the treaty to the Texas Senate on December 19, 1842. In the accompanying message he pointed out that article V might be considered by England, France, and Holland as discriminatory in favor of the United States. The article in question stated that cotton from either country was to be admitted by each free of duty, and that goods manufactured in either but intended for reshipment to foreign countries might be admitted free. Houston suggested that the article be so amended that it would show that the concessions were for a valuable consideration and not gratuitous and free, and therefore common to all powers with whom Texas had commercial treaties.<sup>2</sup>

The following day the fifth article was referred to the committee on foreign relations. Two days later the committee reported that they advised its ratification without change. The vote was unanimous. It would naturally be supposed that this would end the matter as far as the Texas Senate was concerned, but such was not the case. On January 11, 1843, the President was requested to return the treaty to the Senate; two days later he complied. January 16, the fifth article was reconsidered and modified as Houston had originally suggested, and in this form it was passed.

Upon his arrival in Washington in December, Van Zandt found various letters awaiting him informing him of the course of events in his country. General Woll had invaded Texas in September, and, as we have seen, had captured San Antonio.<sup>3</sup> The State Department of Texas urged that the United States be requested to

<sup>1</sup>Reily to Waples, December 12, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 619-621.

<sup>2</sup>*Secret Journals*, 233-244, 268-269, 276-277.

<sup>3</sup>Waples to Van Zandt, October 20, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 609-611; Garrison, *Texas*, 247.

do all in her power to stop the war.<sup>1</sup> Similar requests were addressed to England and France. Van Zandt immediately presented the matter to Webster, who replied that nothing could then be expected from that source, that Santa Anna was determined to make another effort to subdue the country, and that he advised Texas to make the best preparation she could. He said that there was no prospect of any immediate difficulties of a serious nature between the United States and Mexico. In the letter in which this information was forwarded, Van Zandt communicated to his government that he had received a letter from Ashbel Smith informing him that Mexico had rejected the English offer of mediation.<sup>2</sup> President Tyler's message, which was sent to Congress the day before Van Zandt's interview with Webster, spoke of Mexican complaints about American aid to Texas, but was silent on the subject of mediation.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of this Van Zandt continued to urge that the United States interfere. Webster accordingly communicated with Almonte, the Mexican Minister, stating that Mexico must cease its predatory war, and must either recognize Texan independence or make war according to the rules of civilized nations. At the same time, he suggested to Van Zandt the propriety of asking England and France to co-operate with the United States. Van Zandt replied that such a step had already been taken. Webster concluded that the proper time to urge the matter would be as soon as the results of the Mexican expedition against Yucatan were announced, for it was believed that this was about to result in failure.<sup>4</sup>

In January, 1843, news reached Washington that Commodore Jones had taken possession of Monterey, California. Van Zandt hoped that this might precipitate trouble between the United States and Mexico. On January 25 he reported to Tyler and Webster that he had been informed that England and France were willing to mediate and suggested a concert of powers. He was assured that Thompson, the American Minister at Mexico, had been instructed to offer mediation, and stated again that, as soon

<sup>1</sup>Waples to Van Zandt, October 20, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 609-611.

<sup>2</sup>Van Zandt to Terrell, December 7, 1842, *Ibid.*, I, 613-618.

<sup>3</sup>Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, IV, 197-198.

<sup>4</sup>Van Zandt to Terrell, December 23, 1842, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, I, 630-635.

as the results of the Yucatan expedition were known, the United States would make a representation to the Mexican government in which *strong* language would be used, and that a copy of the communication would be forwarded to the French and English governments.<sup>1</sup>

In February Anson Jones, the Texan Secretary of State, informed Van Zandt that France would be willing to act with England and the United States.<sup>2</sup> Before this reached him, however, Webster had informed Van Zandt that the Mier expedition had made it impossible for the United States to interpose; he said that Thompson had reported that the feelings were such in Mexico that all attempts at interposition were useless. Van Zandt then tried another tack; he pointed out to Tyler that England's interest was to see the integrity of Texas maintained and that, if Texas were driven to the last extremity, England would assist her. A few days later Van Zandt was informed that Webster had been directed to approach the French Minister on the subject, and that if the French government would unite with the United States immediate action would be taken.<sup>3</sup>

Van Zandt now turned his attention to an attempt to convince Webster that Texas had acted in a proper manner in the expedition against Mier. He addressed him a lengthy communication in which he pointed out the atrocities committed by Mexico, and stated that Texas was merely acting in self-defense; he closed with the following appeal for intervention:

Mexico in her whole course of conducting the war against Texas has abundantly evinced the disgraceful fact, that no treaty or convention however solemn can bind her to the observance of either justice humanity or mercy and she has thus denied those great principles which hold together the fabric of the moral Universe. If therefore other nations in view of these circumstances and all the facts now before them as well as those herein contained should refuse their interference in the premises no other course will be left to Texas in the future prosecution of the war with Mexico,

<sup>1</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, January 20, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 107-115; Van Zandt to Jones, January 25, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 115-118.

<sup>2</sup>Jones to Van Zandt, February 16, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 125-127; Cramayel to Jones, January 28, 1843, *Ibid.*, III, 1417-1418.

<sup>3</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, March 13, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 132-138.

than to adopt the principles of retaliation and to visit upon the people of that country the evils and cruelties which have so long been suffered by ours.

For the mass of human suffering and misery which would thus be entailed upon the unfortunate, the defenceless and the feeble my Government will then stand acquitted to itself, to the world and to Almighty God. It remains to be seen whether the civilized world will look on with indifference and witness so disastrous a catastrophe.

These facts and reflections are respectively submitted to His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States with a firm reliance that that Government, guided by that enlightened wisdom and respect for the laws of humanity which so eminently distinguish it will give to them the consideration which their importance demands; and take such action thereon as right and justice may require. . . .

His appeal, however, appears to have been in vain, as he reported that no reply was received.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later Van Zandt again saw Tyler. According to the former, the President seemed anxious to intervene but was fearful to act without the unanimous consent of his advisers. He said that Webster had been directed to approach the French Minister upon the subject of joint interposition but had not done so.<sup>2</sup> Two days later Van Zandt saw Webster, who rather testily said,

Sir; your affairs assume so many different *phases* that it is impossible one day to tell what will be the appearance on the next. If your Government would take the advice of its friends, to remain at home, unite among yourselves, confine your soldiers to your own territory, and to the defence of your own soil, suppress insubordination, prevent marauding parties upon the frontier and consolidate your energies, then Sir, we might be able to do something effective.<sup>3</sup>

In February, 1843, Santa Anna adopted a new policy toward Texas. His opponents, the Federalists, had been in power during the greater part of 1842, but in the closing months of the year the

<sup>1</sup>Van Zandt to Webster, March 23, and to Jones, April 5, 1843, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 149-162.

<sup>2</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, April 19, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 164-167.

<sup>3</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, April 21, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 168-170.

Centralists regained control. Santa Anna was in retirement on his estate at Vera Cruz and from there directed the policy of his party. It was not until March, 1843, that he emerged from his retreat. His attention was now necessarily turned to the strengthening of his position, and a continuation of the war with Texas would naturally dissipate his resources, all of which were needed to cope with the political situation.<sup>1</sup> If Texas could be brought back into the Mexican union it would also greatly strengthen his position. The expedient, though doubtful of success, was at least worth trying.

Judge J. W. Robinson, of San Antonio, was a prisoner in the fortress of Perote. On January 9, 1843, he had addressed a letter to Santa Anna asking that he be granted an interview in which he believed he could point out a way by which Texas might be restored to Mexico. The interview was granted, and as a result Robinson was despatched to Texas with proposals for an adjustment of difficulties. The most important features which were presented to Houston were a general amnesty, that Texas acknowledge the sovereignty of Mexico, and that she have the right of representation in the national congress.<sup>2</sup>

The proposition of Santa Anna was at first received with scorn, but a change soon followed. Houston replied that it would be impossible to treat while invasion threatened, whereupon a truce was granted and Houston was able to proclaim a suspension of hostilities on June 15.<sup>3</sup> In February Jones had informed Van Zandt that if the United States "would open wide the door of negotiation to Texas," he would be authorized to make a treaty of annexation. In July the Texan government had changed its mind, for it was now believed that Mexico might acknowledge the independence of Texas, and that if that were done it would greatly simplify the question of annexation. In view of this it was believed

<sup>1</sup>H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, 252-257. The above explanation of Santa Anna's reasons is at variance with Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 42.

<sup>2</sup>H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 372-373. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 42-43.

<sup>3</sup>Jones to Van Zandt, May 8 and June 15, 1843, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 175-176, 192.

that Texas should bend all her energies to settling her difficulties with Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

A change favorable to Texan interests had taken place in the State Department at Washington. Webster retired in May and soon afterward Upshur was appointed.<sup>2</sup> A little later Van Zandt was able to inform Jones that Thompson had been directed to say that the United States deprecated the manner of war carried on by Mexico and that she should either show herself a great nation by subjecting Texas, or a magnanimous one by acknowledging her inability to do it.<sup>3</sup>

The subject of annexation now came rapidly to the fore. In October Upshur presented the issue in uncompromising terms. Was Texas ready to negotiate a treaty of annexation or not? In December a definite answer was given by the State Department of Texas, the general purport of which was as follows: The friendly powers had interposed with Mexico; the powers, meaning no doubt England and France, which had done the most to obtain an armistice, had done it with a view that Texas was to continue as a separate and independent nation; that, though Texas was free to follow whatever course she saw fit in the future, Houston thought in the present state of her foreign relations, it would not be politic to abandon the expectations of a speedy settlement of difficulties with Mexico for the uncertain prospect of annexation to the United States.<sup>4</sup>

This attitude on the part of Texas was foreshadowed by Tyler's annual message to Congress in December. "Nor can this Government," the message read,

be indifferent to the fact that a warfare such as is waged between these two nations is calculated to weaken both powers and finally to render them—and especially the weaker of the two—the subject of

<sup>1</sup>Jones to Van Zandt, February 10 and July 6, 1843, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 123-124, 195. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 44, says, "But all this was comedy. Not only did Santa Anna expect nothing as a direct result of the peace negotiations, but the other party were of the same mind." As far as Texas was concerned, this would appear to be an error in the light of Jones' letter of July 6. H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 372-373, also makes light of the Robinson mission and its reception.

<sup>2</sup>Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV, 439-440.

<sup>3</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, August 10, 1843, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 197-200.

<sup>4</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, October 16, and Jones to Van Zandt, December 13, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 221-224, 232-235.

interference on the part of stronger and more powerful nations, who, intent only on advancing their own peculiar views, may sooner or later attempt to bring about a compliance with terms as the condition of their interposition alike derogatory to the nation granting them and detrimental to the interests of the United States.

Later he says, "The Executive has not hesitated to express to the Government of Mexico how deeply it deprecates a continuance of the war and how anxiously it desired to witness its termination." Further,

While . . . the Executive would deplore any collision with Mexico or any disturbance of the friendly relations . . . it cannot permit that Government to control its policy, whatever it may be, toward Texas, but will treat her . . . as entirely independent of Mexico. The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce, and the Executive in such a contingency will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the government in its course of action.<sup>1</sup>

The attitude of Houston, when made known to Tyler, as Houston probably intended, must have strengthened the views thus forcibly expressed. The subject of annexation now became the ruling idea of the closing year of the administration. As annexation is beyond the scope of this paper, we will leave it and return to the history of the commercial treaty.

When the treaty was brought up in the United States Senate it soon became evident that its ratification *in toto* was unlikely, articles IV and V meeting with opposition; article IV dealt with the free navigation of the rivers having their courses partly within Texas; article V we have already examined. Internal difficulties and dissensions in Texas were given as causes of the opposition; the holders of Texas bonds also made objection to the treaty, insisting that some provision ought to be made for their payment. It was feared, besides, that the unsettled condition of Texas might cause her to become subject to some other power, in which event

<sup>1</sup>Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, IV, 261-262.

free navigation of rivers would be detrimental to the United States.<sup>1</sup>

To quiet these objections, Van Zandt wrote a long memorial to William S. Archer, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, its object being to justify Texas and show why the treaty was desirable. To quote from the memorial,

The continuity and juxtaposition of the two nations—the frequent intercourse between their citizens, and the growing commerce carried on between them, render it essentially necessary, in order to avoid all difficulties and embarrassments, which might arise, as well as to perpetuate and strengthen the good feelings of friendship and national concord, which it is the interest and should be the desire of both Governments to foster and preserve, that definite rules, in the nature of treaty stipulations, should be established for their mutual regulation and government.<sup>2</sup>

Van Zandt's efforts, however, were of no avail. News of the Mier disaster arrived inopportunistically; the opponents of Texas were able to gather strength by pointing out the weak condition of the country where insubordination and dissension were rife.<sup>3</sup> On March 3, the Senate ratified the treaty, but struck out articles IV and V. Van Zandt reported in April that no further action on the part of the Senate could be expected until the amended treaty was submitted to the Texas Senate. In December, at the same time that he stated the position of Texas on the subject of annexation, Jones informed Van Zandt that the striking out of articles IV and V rendered the treaty unacceptable to his government and that consequently it would not be ratified in that shape.<sup>4</sup> Thus ended the negotiations for the commercial treaty which had so long absorbed the attention of the Texan diplomats. It and the subject of intervention were now together swallowed up in the larger question of annexation.

<sup>1</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, January 20, 1843, and January 20, 1844, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 112-115, 243.

<sup>2</sup>Van Zandt to Archer, January 10, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 139-148.

<sup>3</sup>Van Zandt to Jones, March 13, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 132-138.

<sup>4</sup>*Journal of Ex. Proceedings of the Senate*, VI, 188-189; Van Zandt to Jones, April 5, 1843, *Tex. Dipl. Corr.*, II, 149-153; Jones to Van Zandt, December 13, 1843, *Ibid.*, II, 232.

To summarize: shortly before the election of Lamar annexation was dropped and new issues became paramount in the Texan foreign policy. Bee and later Treat were sent to Mexico for the purpose of obtaining the recognition of Texan independence, but the overtures were rejected. Dunlap and afterward Bee attempted to induce the United States to act as mediator, but the idea was received coldly by the Van Buren administration.

Texas next opened negotiations for a commercial treaty, but before much progress was made Bee was recalled by the new Houston administration and Reily appointed. The Texas government at once showed that annexation was in mind. The Vásquez raid occurring in March, 1842, the United States was again asked to mediate, and in response Thompson, the American Minister to Mexico, was instructed to say that his government would act as mediator if Mexico desired. But before the American attitude could be made known, the Mexican government charged the United States with a breach of neutrality. After a spirited correspondence, Mexico ceased to be belligerent but rejected the idea of American mediation.

The question of a commercial treaty came to the front again in July, 1842, an agreement being reached between Webster and Reily. The treaty was ratified by the Texan Senate; the United States Senate, however, accepted it in a changed form which made it unacceptable to the Texan government and it never went into effect.

General Woll's invasion having occurred, Van Zandt, the successor of Reily, again asked for American mediation, suggesting that the United States act in concert with England and France. Webster's course, however, proved dilatory.

The Texan government now tried to interest the United States by making her jealous of the growing influence of England. Early in 1843 Santa Anna opened negotiations with Texas, and the need of American assistance for the time being was not felt. Webster soon afterward retired, and Upshur became Secretary of State. The matter of annexation was now rapidly brought forward and became the absorbing question of the day.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES  
CONCERNING TEXAS, 1837-1846

EDITED BY EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS

## II

ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.

F. O. May 24. 1842.

Capt. Chas. Elliott. R. N.

Sir.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acquaint you that his Lordship wishes you to proceed to Texas with as little delay as possible. Your Commission and Instructions are ready to be delivered to you at this Office.

H. U. Addington

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Draft.

F. O. May 27. 1842.

Captain Elliot.

Texas No. 1.

Sir,

With reference to a Letter from this Department dated the 4th of August last, acquainting you that The Queen had been graciously pleased to appoint you to be H. M's Consul General to the Republic of Texas, I enlose to you herewith Her Majesty's Commission to that Effect, and I have to desire you to proceed to your Post with all convenient Speed.

You will lose no time in making yourself conversant with the details of the Consular Service and with the Nature and extent of your Duties as pointed out in the General Instructions of

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. Henry Unwin Addington (1790-1870), permanent under-secretary for foreign affairs. (Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

H. M's Consuls, of which a Copy is herewith inclosed, and which contain full Instructions for the guidance of your Official conduct on all ordinary occasions.

I also inclose Copies of Circular Dispatches dated 30th Sept. 1833, and 1st Oct. 1836; and I have to call your particular attention to the directions contained in those Dispatches, enjoining a careful preservation of the Archives of the Consulate.

You will be punctual in forwarding to this Dept. the Returns required by the general Instructions, and it will be your Duty to avail yourself of every favourable opportunity for collecting and transmitting to me any further useful or interesting Information, relating to Commerce, Navigation and Agriculture, and to any other Branch of Statistics.

Your Salary has been fixed at £1,200 a year, and will commence ten days before the day of your departure from England; and you are to consider yourself restricted from engaging in Mercantile Pursuits

Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.

F. O. May 27. 1842

Captain Elliot

Texas. No. 2.

Sir,

I think it right to call your attention to that Clause in your commission which empowers you to appoint Vice Consuls at those Ports and Places where the Interests of H. M's Service may appear to require them, and to explain to you that you are not to consider yourself authorized by that clause to appoint Vice Consuls without the previous Sanction of this Department, and I have to refer you upon this Subject to the 27th Paragraph of the General Instructions

Aberdeen.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Dft.

F. O. May 31st. 1842

Captain Elliot. R. N.

Texas. No. 3.

Sir,

In addition to Her Majesty's Commission and to the Consular Instructions with which you are furnished in my Dispatch No. 1, I enclose to you a Letter which I have addressed to the Secretary of the Republic of Texas,<sup>2</sup> requesting that every facility may be afforded to you by that Government in entering upon and fulfilling the Duties of your Situation.

You will deliver this Letter upon your arrival at the Seat of Government in Texas.

You will make it your duty to collect and transmit to me Information upon all matters of political Interest and importance in the Republic of Texas

Aberdeen.

P. S.

I enclose to you a Copy of my letter to the Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>3</sup>

Dft.

F. O. May 31st. 1842.

Capt. Elliot. R. N.

Texas. No. 4.

Sir.

I have informed H. M's Ministers at Washington and at Mexico of your appointment as H. M's Consul General in Texas, and I have instructed Mr. Fox and Mr. Pakenham to communicate with you upon all matters which may tend to promote the Interests of H. M's Subjects in those Countries. And I have also to instruct you to keep up a constant and unreserved Communication with Mr. Fox and Mr. Pakenham.

Aberdeen.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.<sup>2</sup>See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 969, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Monday, [June 3, 1842] 1/2 past 3. P. M.

My Lord.

This idea has occurred to me since I had the honor of conversing with Your Lordship.

It appears to me that a *Suspension* of the blockade<sup>2</sup> (should such a Step be deemed expedient) might reasonably be conceded by the Government of Texas until Great Britain has acted upon that Convention in which She agrees to Mediate between Mexico and Texas. By suspending the blockade, time would be given for reconsidering the propriety of following up that Step. Of the disposition of the Government of Texas and the representative in this Country to meet any Suggestion of Her Majesty's Government in the very best spirit, I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt.

I content myself with vaguely indicating the idea for Your Lordship's consideration. Perhaps an early meeting between Mr. Smith<sup>3</sup> and Your Lordship will be desirable.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen

[Endorsed] June 3. 1842.

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL<sup>4</sup>

Waiting Room. Forgn. Office  
Tuesday June 7th. [1842.]

Sir

In accordance with instructions from Lord Aberdeen I beg to request the favor of an interview in reference to my Appointment to the Consulship at Galveston in Texas.

If you cannot command leisure today, will you be so good as to

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>On March 26, 1842, President Houston had declared a blockade of Mexican ports on the eastern coast.

<sup>3</sup>Ashbel Smith, Texan chargé d'affaires in England, appointed in March, 1842.

<sup>4</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. John Bidwell, a permanent under official of the Foreign Office.

name a time when it will be convenient for you to grant me an interview.

William Kennedy

John Bidwell, Esqr.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

*Private.*

Gregory's Hotel.

Arundel St. Haymarket, June 8th. /42.

My Lord,

In accordance with Your Lordship's suggestion, I had yesterday some conversation with Mr. Bidwell in reference to the Galveston Consulate.

When the Salary was fixed at £400, the Department, it appears from Mr. Bidwell, had no definite grounds to go upon. That gentleman has therefore recommended that I, being acquainted with Texas from personal experience, should submit a statement of facts for Your Lordship's consideration.

A residence in Texas will be expensive on two leading grounds—first, the newness of the Country—second, the existence of Slavery. The former will entail the expense of buying the Site of a house and bringing the house itself either direct from England, or from the United States. The latter must greatly increase the outlay on household servants, British Consuls being, very properly, prohibited from availing themselves of Slave labour.

The outlay on suitable buildings, taking wood as the Material, cannot on the most moderate estimate, be set down at less than £500—Galveston is a sandy island, destitute of building Materials.

Male servants cannot, I think, be had at less rate of wages than £50 a year, female servants about £30.

The style of living at Galveston among the more influential classes, will attain the usual expensive scale of the South, as the planters increase in wealth, and may be expected soon to reach the level of New Orleans, the Consul at which port complains of his inadequate income, although his Salary is £500 and his fees, I have understood an equal amount.

Mr. Bidwell concurs with me in thinking that the privilege of

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

trading will be of little, if any, practical value to me at Galveston. There are always established British Merchants there, of large capital.—With one of these Mr. Power—(connected with the house of McCalmont Brothers & Co. of London and Liverpool) I was a guest for some days, and I was informed that the allowance to the clerks was £300 a year each

Your Lordship was so kind as to say that you would consider the propriety of raising the Salary to £500 a year. Even with this augmentation, I am quite satisfied that, for the first three or four years, a Consul who should maintain independence and the decency of appearance due to his office must draw upon his personal resources for part of his expenditure. Texas will undoubtedly command an extensive trade, but some time must elapse ere the trade of Galveston can produce any considerable return of Consular fees. And I may remark that it, being the principal port of the Republic, the agent of the British Government resident there will be much more frequently called upon to exercise the rites of hospitality to his Countrymen than the officer charged with diplomatic functions and residing at the seat of Government

I am sorry to trouble Your Lordship with these details, but, as you good naturedly observed, the subject is necessarily of some importance to me. Perhaps, also, my case may be fairly considered to embrace peculiar claims to consideration, as I have devoted both time and money to acquiring a thorough knowledge of Texan affairs, and my services as a Municipal Commissioner in Canada, although perfectly satisfactory to the Government of the day, entailed upon me some pecuniary loss without securing any countervailing advantage.

I am desirous of serving in Texas because, from the information I possess, and the favourable opinion entertained of me by the Government and people of that Country, I am encouraged to hope that I may execute the duties assigned me with benefit to British interests and credit to myself. And I believe I should not greatly err in saying—that Her Majesty's Government, in assigning me a liberal provision for the maintenance of Consular rank, would incur no risk of Parliamentary or public censure

Perfectly and gratefully relying on Your Lordship's favourable

dispositions, I have endeavoured on the matter in question to satisfy your sense of right

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Gregory's Hotel.

Arundel St. Haymarket June 15th /42

My Lord,

I have received a Communication from a trustworthy source, dated Galveston, Texas, May 17th in which I am informed that General Houston was about to proceed to the South Western frontier of the Republic, to take the Command of the Army, and that all was "in readiness for the invasion of Mexico". My correspondent—an Englishman—had, he intimates, forwarded to me a packet containing "much important information". This packet has not yet reached me.

The most strenuous endeavours have been made by the United States newspapers—more especially those in the interest of Mr. Clay—to create and fix the impression that Mexico was secretly prompted by England in her persevering hostility to Texas. The party favourable to "Annexation" use every available means to stimulate Texas into acts of aggression, under the anticipation that, borne down by the charges of war, she will have no alternative but to incorporate herself with the Northern Federation. No falsehood is too rampant to serve the purpose of the hour.

The non-completion<sup>2</sup> of the Treaties between Great Britain and Texas gives a colour to these representations, and strips the act of part of its grace as regards the Country claiming recognition and alliance. It would be very unfortunate if, after adjusting differences of the North Eastern frontier of the United States,<sup>3</sup> new sources of difficulty should be opened in the South West.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ratifications of the three treaties were finally exchanged on June 28, 1842.

<sup>3</sup>This refers to the Webster-Ashburton negotiation then in progress,

POWER TO PEEL<sup>1</sup>

(Duplicate)  
Sir Robert Peel etc.

Galveston. Texas. 20 June 1842

Sir,

Although I have not the honor of personally being known to you, I presume from my family connections at Tamworth and in Warwickshire with whom you are acquainted to address you.

In 1840 I came out to this Country to form a Commercial house, and establish a trade between this Country and England and up to the present time have succeeded to my utmost wishes, finding the exports from hence very much more on the increase than I had at first anticipated. I have gone into large operations here and viewing with some alarm the position I hold in this Country at the present moment on the eve of a war in all probability with Mexico, and this too without a British Agent or Consul to protect my, and other subjects property, I am induced to hope that my letter may through you, in some way find itself in the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the hope that some one may be sent out, to protect us from the certain destruction of our property should we be left entirely to the Mercy of the Mexicans.

The Commercial relations with Texas are now beginning to develop themselves and in proof of it, I may mention that in Feby. 1840 I could hardly load one of my Vessels here with Cotton whereas in 41 and 42 I have sent home some 14000 Bales.

The growth of this article as well as emigration from the Southern parts of United States is so much on the increase that I confidently state that in 10 years we shall export as much Cotton as Alabama now does, which is now from 4 to 500,000 Bales.

In the present state of matters politically I would suggest that it would tend much to British Interests could some arrangement be made to adjust if possible the difficulties between this Country and Mexico, and so raise up a Country which will afford our

which resulted in the signing on August 9, 1842, of the Treaty of Washington. It was generally understood that Aberdeen hoped by this negotiation to remove all causes of difference with the United States.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 5. See reference to Mr. Power in Kennedy's letter to Aberdeen, June 8, 1842.

British Manufactures a considerable market for her products as well as the raw material without being so dependent on the United States; whereas if something is not done I much fear from the financial state of matters here, that Texas may be lost to British enterprize and at last become annexed to the United States: Strong efforts to that end are even now making and the States to the South are more than desirous for this step, as well as the greater portion of the people here, from the conviction that with the distress we are lav[b]ouring under, that resources cannot be had to cope with energy against Mexico. Had we those means there can be no doubt of the result, but without them an effectual defence cannot be prolonged.

I do not go into particulars relative to the polotics of this Country, not wishing to encroach too much upon your time, but beg to reitereate the solicitous wish of myself and that of the British subjects resident in this Country that some Consul come among us, to protect us and otherwise give such views to the Govt. as may induce them to give a more decided tone to the interests of the Republic as well as foster a rising Country—that by judicious management may be made a barrier to the encroachments of the United States

Apologizing for the liberty I have taken I am

Charles Power.

Galveston 7th July 1842.

I beg to enclose you a letter which has been sent by me to Mr. de Saligny the French Minister here in consequence of an application he made to me.

If it will afford H. M. Govt. at home any benefit I shall be happy to communicate with them from time to time upon any head on which they may desire information about this new Country. I am, Sir,

Charles Power

Rt. Honble. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.  
Treasury. London.

[Endorsed] No. 1. In Sir R. Peel's Note of Aug. 15, 1842.

POWER TO SALIGNY<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure.]

Galveston 20th June 1842.

Monsieur Le Comte de Saligny.

You have requested that I would give you so far as I could any views about the Commerce of this Country as well as its position embarrassed as it now is, and as you are about going to Europe I do so in the hope that thro' your influence you may be able in a proper channel to represent the state of Texas as to its present resources, what it is destined some day to be, if aid can be afforded her now as an exporting as well as consuming Country of the Manufactures of both France and England.

In allusion to the exports even now in their infancy I would simply refer you back to my own commencement, here in 1840 and contrast the present increase in the growth of Cotton in the two Years, if such increase takes place as I will endeavour to shew you by a small table I have prepared, pending the uncertainty of our independence, what must be the result of 10 Years of peace and acknowledgment of that position which is so much to be desired by us here as Aliens, as well as by the Govts. of France and England could the matter be shewn to them in a proper light, by some party competent and on whose veracity could be relied upon and those Govts. take upon themselves the adjustment of the difficulty now existing with Mexico.

Another matter too cannot have escaped your notice and anxiety as regards the future prospects of this Country should the conflict with Mexico be prolonged, which is the certain annexation of Texas by the United States— it is even now desired by the Majority both of that and this Country and should by every scheme possible be thwarted; an annexation would completely put a stop to the introduction of European goods except in the finer fabrics and would in time lead on to a constant state of quarrel on the frontier, and ultimately to the March of the Anglo-Saxon race to the conquest of the South American Continent.

You know enough of the composition of the people to know and feel that the European Govts. ought not to allow the race to travel

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 5.

beyond its present limit, for travel they will with their energy and the sooner some arrangement of Mediation for this Country, with a guarantee of those powers United States, France, and England, in mediating a peace with Mexico the better, by this means the onward march may be arrested some 50 or 60 years and a good and lucrative trade carried on by them in the introduction of their manufactures: Every day is bringing the U. States in competition with us in manufactures of every description, and latterly the improvement is astonishing. The possession then of this Market, would afford them an increased stimulus to the export of their products and drive us completely out of Market. Too much attention cannot be given to this point unless our Govt. are really blind to their own interests and they must be made to see if possible that it is necessary to adopt some course which will at least for some time give us an outlet for our manufactures.

Let the United States on[ce] possess this Country and where is She to stop, 10 years will prove it to us in Europe, whereas 10 years hence by a determination that Mexico should recognize that [then?] you have a Country exporting as much Cotton as Alabama now does or nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  the amount of American cottons which are consumed in England.

There never was so fine an opportunity for Govts. at home shewing their philanthropy and nurturing this new Country the crisis which every one is suffering from in the United States, high prices of lands comparative uncertainty of Crops when compared to this as well as present low prices, will all conspire to force emigration to Texas, so soon as personal property can be guaranteed

It must be remembered that North Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and Carolina are all Cotton Countrys, but produce on an average about 3 Bales to the hand, this quantity when prices were high renumerated the growers, but at the present rates they cannot make both ends meet, here you will find the averages about 7 Bales. I have known 10 but seven will be within the mark, the staple a penny per lb. better and no more expense to convey to market when once the trade is open, but a decidedly less capital required to bring the article to maturity. Here lands are worth from one dollar to five per acre, there from twenty to forty, and

at the same time there is no one thing that is produced there, that we cannot do here.

I need not call your attention to the market, situated as Texas is for the supply of goods for both Mexico and the U. States, the high tariff in both these countries will always be a temptation to contraband introduction, and could a judicious system be organized and a peace established, here a free entry on such goods might be made and a lucrative and heavy trade carried on. What is to prevent the Trader from taking goods to Red River and thence scattering them over the Western States, the expences of transport when once the matter was organized would not be more than 3% or 4% on the value of goods and even now the distance with a loaded Waggon can be performed in 12 days.

I will instance the article of Cloth which pay now a duty in the States of from 32% to 40% not bulky for its value, in which alone a considerable trade could be carried on, and must to any one having the least fore sight be sufficiently obvious.—As to Mexico the matter is so notorious and tariff so high as admit on every article an infringement

The great supply of goods consumed at present in Texas is from the United States tho' even the major part of these are French and English which have paid duty in the States, the coarser fabries being produced cheaper there. The amount altogether I estimate at about 3 Millions of dollars since 1840 up to this time say 2 Years<sup>1</sup>

From England and France direct not more than 100,000 ff.

You must be aware that with Red River Countries [Counties] a great part of the Cottons go to New Orleans and are not bonded and considered Texas Cotton, when they are so strictly speaking, but are entered as Louisiana; in the same way goods are introduced and no benefit accrues in any way to the Govt. here and against the exports above mentioned I cannot take these exports to shew how the balance of trade exists—because no benefit accrues to this Country from the duties

I should nevertheless think that taking all the exports of Texas Cotton and Hides, that She only meets the imports about two-

<sup>1</sup>The total imports by Texas for the year ending September 1, 1840, were \$1,378,568.98. (Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 128.)

fifths at most leaving a heavy balance against her which will be reduced in 5 years in a similar way to a calculation of compound interest, for every new Country will have on first Settlement a strong current against her of this sort but which is very much reduced yearly.

I have considered that it will perhaps be as well to give You some idea of the Cotton growing region of this Country including Brazoria, Washington, Ward<sup>1</sup> and Matagorda Counties as well as the lands upon Caney and Bernard. The quality of all these lands are superior to any that are known in the U. States and consist of Alluvial black Moulds, except on Caney and the upper part of Ward and Matagorda which are mulatto of a very strong and rich nature and more suitable to Cotton in my opinion from their not suffering so much from the drought which almost always happens in the lower Country, as well as producing a silky and long staple of cotton and with care and the same attention to cleaning would obtain the highest market rates in either Europe or New Orleans, indeed by a reference to the quality of the staple grown in the Western part of Texas it will be seen that Cottons here are decidedly superior to the general run of American Cottons and are equal to them except the Red River and Louisiana.

The value of these lands vary from 3 to 5 dollars the acre in the present hard times, but sales have been made at much higher and lower prices, the quantity grown to the hand varies according to the industry of the Planter, as an average each Slave on a plantation will cultivate 10 or 12 Acres, and the produce is about 1500 to 2000 lbs. in Cotton seed or about 300 to 400 lbs. of Gin'd Cotton pr. acre.

The Brazos has the preference among Planters from the Stream being navigable for about 60 miles, beyond this except in wet seasons when the River rises 20 or 30 feet, no certain communication can be had in consequence of the Shoals, the first that you meet with is between Bolivar and Richmond across which I can 10 months in the year wade over. You have heard I have

<sup>1</sup>The judicial county of Ward was created from Matagorda and Colorado counties by act of January 19, 1841. This act was later held unconstitutional. Its territory was entirely distinct from that of the present county of Ward.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

no doubt that this river is navigable to Washington. I have seen for Myself and without fear of contradiction say that up to Bolivar and no farther can a boat go except under the influence of the rise I before spoke of. The Bernard in the same way is navigable about 30 miles and dwindles away in 50 miles to a miserable swamp.

The Colorado in the same way presents many obstacles the first and greatest is the Raft which obstructs the mouth for about 2 miles but will ere long be removed, a Keel Boat now ascends to near Bastrop and the water varies from 10 feet to 14 inches

Every Stream in Texas unfortunately wants water to render them navigable. I believe that the Trinity that emptys into Galveston Bay will one day become the best river from the fact not generally known that that River heads within 5 miles of Red River which is about 10 feet higher than the Trinity and by cutting a Canal of about 15 Miles you could have a constant volumn of water that would render that stream navigable as well as throw the whole trade of Fannin, Bowie, Harrison and Red River Counties in this Bay, and which now goes to New Orleans thro' Natchitoches, of these upper counties I myself have no practical knowledge, what little I have learned is from Judge Mills who I think may be relied upon as being disinterested and who at the same time has been a resident in that Section of the Country for some time

They are all in the same parallel of latitude and their productions alike—Cotton, Corn, Wheat, Rye and Flax grow well. Settlers from Illinois report that for wheat and Flax they desire no better land and that the average of the former crop is about 25 Bushels to the acre a good average I should consider.

The Red River is navigable 1600 miles from the Mississippi to the junction of the Kiamiska and one hundred and fifty miles by land above the point where the boundary lies [line?] between the U. States and Texas strikes the River.

The quality of the lands upon this River are similar to those on the Mississippi and Brazos and are alluvial. The Prairie black rich mould and capable of producing almost any production. All the upper Country is much better wooded than on the Gulf side of the Republic and among its products is a wood called Bowdark or Bois d'Arc which is reported to have the same qualities of the

Campeachy Fustic, as well as being capable of hedging in a similar manner to the Black Thorn of our own Country.

The crop of Cotton this year may be calculated as follows and may be relied upon.

1841 and 42.

The Counties Harrison 2000, Fannin 700, Bowie 4000, Red River 3000, Lamar 2000—in all.....	11,700
Brazoria and Washington—Bernard.....	7,500
Matagorda. Ward, and Caney.....	3,000
Sabine—St. Augustine and Nacogdoches.....	5,500
Montgomery—Fort Bend—Richmond.....	7,000
Trinity, Harris, Houston, Chocolate.....	3,000
	<hr/>
	37,700

Each Bag will average 450 lbs.

In 1840 and 41

Red River Counties.....	5,000
Nacogdoches, St. Augustine etc.....	2,500
Brazoria, Washington.....	5,400
Matagorda and Ward.....	1,300
Trinity.....	500
Sabine.....	1,000
	<hr/>
	19,200 <sup>1</sup>

1839 and 40.

The returns of the Custom House shew about 5,600 Bales but I believe that the amount was greater and will be about 10,000 Bales.

I calculated from what I have seen and my knowledge of the Country together with the increased planting and acquisition of forces that the year of 1842 will yeild a crop of about 50% over the returns of last year or about 50, or 60,000 Bags.—I shall now conclude and beg to reiterate that if at any time I can give you

<sup>1</sup>The addition is incorrect; the correct total is 15,700.

any information that will be of use to you or your Govt. I shall be most happy.—And Believe me<sup>1</sup>

[Endorsed.] Copy of a letter addressed to Monsieur de Saligny. French Chargé d’Affaires. No. 2. In Sir R. Peel’s Note of Aug 15. 1842.

ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Draft.

F. O. June 28. 1842.

Capt. Elliot.

Texas. Consular No. 6.

Sir,

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acquaint you that in consequence of the Diplomatick Character with which you have been invested by His Lordship’s Despatch Nos. 1—of this day’s date, it will be expedient that you should separate your Diplomatick from your Consular Despatches, by affixing a distinct set of Numbers to each, and you will affix to your Despatches on Consular Subjects the word “*Consular*” in the same manner as that word is prefixed to the number of this Despatch.<sup>3</sup>

You will understand that the only Despatches which should be marked and numbered in your Consular Series, should be such as relate solely to the subjects specially treated of in the General Consular Instructions

H. U. Addington

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>4</sup>

Captn. Elliot.

F. O. 1 July 1842.

No. 3.<sup>5</sup>

Sir,

The ratifications of the three Treaties concluded in Novr. 1840 between Great Britain and the Republick of Texas, having been

<sup>1</sup>The letter is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Elliot’s consular despatches were not numerous, and were for the most part merely formal reports of his presence at his post. These have been omitted, and only those bearing on his diplomatic activities and personal relations are here printed.

<sup>4</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Despatches Nos. 1 and 2, Aberdeen to Elliot, July 1, 1842, are omitted; their substance is given in despatches Nos. 1 and 2, Elliot to Aberdeen, September 4, 1842, printed below.

exchanged on the 28th Ult. with the Texian Chargé d'Affaires accredited to this Government, you will take upon yourself the character and duties of H. M. Chargé d'Affaires to the Govt. of Texas, agreeably to the assurance which was prospectively given you to that effect by Viset: Palmerston in his dispatch dated the 4th of August last.

A brief instruction for the general guidance of your conduct in your new capacity may suffice in the present position of our relations with the Republick of Texas.

Those relations will necessarily, in the first instance, be namely, commercial; and, as such, they will come under your consideration in your capacity of Consul General, for the performance of the duties of which office you have already been sufficiently instructed.

With reference to our political relations I shall wish that you should, at first, assume the attitude, rather of an observer than of an actor, of a passive, but not inattentive spectator rather than of an energetic agent or counsellor.

You will watch closely all the proceedings of the Texian Govt., not with any hostile view, but simply with the object of putting Your own Govt. in possession of such facts and circumstances as may enable them to form a just estimate of the power and character of the Texian Govt. and Nation, and to judge thereby of the value of the new relations which H. M. has formed with that Republick

It is essential that we should be made well acquainted with the resources, military, naval, financial, and commercial, of Texas; with the feelings of her Govt. and her people as represented in the legislative chambers, both with respect to Great Britain, and also with respect to the U. States. And in judging and reporting on these matters I can not too strongly recommend to you to use your best endeavours to do so with the strictest impartiality, and not to allow any preconceived notions to bias your judgment in coming to a conclusion on these points

The exact truth without any extraneous colouring, is what H. M. Govt. desire in their present very imperfect knowledge of the state of affairs in Texas; and to you they must necessarily look for that information which is to guide their own judgment in those matters.

You will of course express to the rulers of Texas the desire of H. M. Govt. to cultivate the best understanding with them, and especially to do every thing in their power to bring about an amicable and early settlement of their differences with Mexico. But you will most carefully abstain from using any language which may, in the remotest manner, lead to a hope that we may ever be disposed to take any part in their contest with Mexico.

We should be well inclined, in conformity with our Treaty with Texas, to mediate between the two Govts., but the part which it is our first duty to take, with reference to either, is that of the strictest neutrality.

In conclusion, I wish that all representations which you may at any time have to make to the Texian Authorities, either orally or in writing, should be conveyed in such a tone and language as it becomes one independent Govt. to use towards another independent Govt., without reference to the greater strength and more ancient reputation of the one or the lesser power and antiquity of the other.

Ab[erdeen]n.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.  
Captain Elliot  
No. 4.

Foreign Office.  
July 1st. 1842.

Sir,

I inclose to you a Copy of a Protocol of a Conference<sup>2</sup> which I, as Plenipotentiary for Great Britain, and Mr. Ashbel Smith, as Plenipotentiary for the Republic of Texas held at the Foreign Office on the 28th ultimo recording the exchange of the Ratifications of the three undermentioned Treaties between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas.

1. A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed at London on the 13th of Novr. 1840.

2dly A Convention containing certain arrangements relative to Publick debt, signed at London on the 14th of Novr. 1840;

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup>Held at the foreign office, June 28, 1842. See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 996, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

and 3dly, a Treaty for the suppression of African Slave Trade, signed at London on the 16th of Novr. 1840.

I also inclose to you Six Copies of each of the above mentioned Treaties signed on the 13th and 14th of Novr. 1840.—And also Copies of Protocols of the Conferences held at this office on the 19th of May and 14th of December 1841<sup>1</sup> between the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and of Texas, extending the time for the Exchange of the Ratifications of the Treaties between the Two Countries.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Draft.  
Captain Elliot.  
No. 5. Confidential.

Foreign Office.  
July 1. 1842.

Sir,

I inclose to you confidentially for Your information, a Copy of a dispatch which I have addressed to Her M's Minister in Mexico,<sup>3</sup> relative to the two Treaties between Great Britain and Texas signed on the 13th and 14th of November, 1840

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>4</sup>

Draft.  
Captain Elliot.  
No. 7.<sup>5</sup>

Foreign Office.  
July 1. 1842.

Sir,

Having received from more than one quarter, and especially from H. M. Consul at Vera Cruz, in a despatch dated the 30th of April and 10th of May, information that, as far as Vera Cruz at least is concerned, the Blockade of the Eastern Coast of Mexico

<sup>1</sup>Both in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XXX, 1127-1128.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup>Aberdeen to Pakenham, July 1, 1842. F. O., Mexico, 152. Aberdeen instructed Pakenham to urge upon Mexico a recognition of Texan independence, and a discontinuance of all attempts at reconquest. For extracts and substance, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 101-102.

<sup>4</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Despatch No. 6, Aberdeen to Elliot, July 1, 1842, is omitted here; it transmitted copy of despatch No. 28, Aberdeen to Pakenham, July 1, 1842, in regard to Texan blockade of Mexican ports.

proclaimed by the Govt. of Texas on the 26th of March, had not been, up to that date, practically enforced. I have thought it my duty to address a Letter, of which a Copy is herewith enclosed,<sup>1</sup> to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which I have requested that the Commander in Chief of H. M. Naval forces in the West Indies may be instructed to dispatch forthwith to the Coast declared under Blockade, a sufficient force for the protection of British Trade in that quarter; and also to report upon the efficiency, or otherwise of the Blockade so declared

At the same time I have also thought it my duty to represent verbally to the Texian Chargé d’Affaires in this Country the impolicy on the part of a Govt. so recently established, and as yet so scantily recognized, as that of Texas, of resorting to a measure, which ought always to be avoided, except in cases of extreme urgency, and is always attended with great danger and odium to the Blockading Power, and liable to excite feelings of disgust and hostility in all other Powers;—the great Commercial Powers especially

I have to instruct you, under the supposition that the Blockade is an actual and effective one, and properly supported by an adequate Blockading force, as required by the Law of Nations, to make a temperate but energetic representation in the same sense directly to the Govt. of Texas, and to use your best endeavours to induce that Govt. to raise the Blockade without loss of time; representing to them the ill will which a continuance of it will excite in foreign Nations, and especially amongst the Merchants of the higher Commercial Powers, whose friendship it must be so greatly the interest of the Texian Govt. to conciliate in the infancy of their Country’s independence.

You may also add that the Blockade of the Mexican Ports, which, in the opinion of H. M. Govt. was, from the first injudicious has, since the final completion of the Treaties between Great Britain and Texas, become particularly inopportune, since it is now the duty of the British Govt. conformably to the provisions of one of those Treaties, to endeavour once more to mediate a Peace between the two Countries, with a view to the recognition of Texas by Mexico.

<sup>1</sup>Not found.

It is scarcely to be supposed that such Mediation can be undertaken with any rational hope of success at a moment when an obstruction is opposed by Texas to the Commerce of Mexico with other Countries; which, under any circumstances, could contribute but little in proportion to its vexatious character, to the success of the Contest at present raging between the two Republicks.

Should you have good reason to know that the Blockade of the Mexican Ports is not effective, or that it is enforced, not by Vessels bonâ fide Texian, but by Ships belonging to foreign States or Adventurers, it will then become your duty to protest formally against it, and to declare to the Govt. of Texas explicitly, but in temperate language, that the British Govt. will neither acknowledge, nor observe, it.<sup>1</sup>

You will, under any circumstances, employ all the means within Your reach, for elucidating the important point above adverted to, namely, whether supposing the Blockade to be real, the Blockading Vessels are Texian, or foreign. It is obvious that, considering the proximity of the United States, and the known bias of the people of that Country in favour of Texas and Texian independence, there must always be a great probability that those persons will omit no opportunity of taking part with the Texians either by land or Sea, especially when so fair a chance of gain offers, as the sharing in the Blockade of the Mexican Ports would hold out to them.

To this point You will therefore direct Your particular attention, and report accurately to H. M. Govt. all the authentic information which You may be able to collect upon it. I am,

Aberdeen.

<sup>1</sup>The blockade was not effective, but its promulgation had stirred a warm protest by British merchants, who in May and June, 1842, addressed numerous letters to the foreign office. (F. O., Mexico, 158 and 159. Domestic Various.) Houston revoked the blockade on September 12, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1014, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.

F. O. July 1st. 1842.

Capt. Elliot.

H. M. Chargé d'Affaires

Texas. No. 8.

Sir.

In the Year 1837, H. M. Govt. received accounts of certain outrages which had been committed upon two British Merchant Vessels, named the "Eliza Russell" and the "Little Penn," by Vessels in the Service of the Texian Authorities, and several successive Communications were consequently made by my Predecessor to Genl. Henderson, an Agent from Texas then in this Country, with a view to obtain redress for these Outrages by amicable means.<sup>2</sup>

The result of these preliminary Communications was an assurance on the part of Genl. Henderson, first with respect to the Eliza Russell, that the Texian Authorities were ready to pay the whole of the Claim brought forward by H. M. Govt. on behalf of the Owner of that Vessel; and secondly, with respect to the case of the "Little Penn" upon which there seemed to be some demur, that they were ready to investigate that Case, and in the event of the Claim proving well founded, that they would not hesitate to make full compensation to the Owners.

The stay of Genl. Henderson in England, however, having been only temporary, and H. M. Govt. having then no Agent in Texas, the further prosecution of these Claims was entrusted to Mr. Pakenham, H. M. Minister in Mexico, who was at that time, in Communication upon other Matters with Genl. Hamilton an Agent

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>2</sup>This matter occupies much space in the correspondence between Aberdeen and Elliot. Since Elliot nearly always merely carried out Aberdeen's instructions by transmitting formal official communications to the Texan government, and since these are included in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, no further letters treating of the *Eliza Russell* and *Little Penn* cases will be printed here, unless they contain references to other matters. For a succinct account of the cases see Worley, "The Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas," in *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 5-8.

from Texas then in Mexico;<sup>1</sup> and Statements of the Claims, supported by the necessary proofs, were forwarded to Mr. Pakenham for Communication to Genl. Hamilton and through him to his Govt. Genl. Hamilton having been succeeded in Mexico by Mr. Trent, [Treat]<sup>2</sup> another Texian Agent, Mr. Pakenham made his representations to the last mentioned Gentleman from whom assurances were received similar to those which had been given by Genl. Henderson, but eventually it was deemed expedient to defer the final prosecutions of these Claims until H. M. Govt. should have appointed an Agent to reside in Texas, who would then make a direct application to the Texian Govt. for redress.

That Step having now been taken, I accordingly transmit to You herewith for your information and guidance, Copies of the Correspondence, as marked in the Margin, which has passed between this Office and Mr. Pakenham upon this subject,<sup>3</sup> together with Copies of the Correspondence and other Papers therein referred to, with the exception of the Inclosures in Lord Palmerston's Despatch No. 10 of the 15th of February 1840.

These Inclosures comprise authenticated Documents and other Papers relating to the Claims in question; and Mr. Pakenham has been instructed to transmit them to You at Austin by the earliest opportunity.

<sup>1</sup>Hamilton was not in Mexico, but corresponded with Pakenham from New Orleans. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 36-40.)

<sup>2</sup>James Treat, confidential agent of Texas in Mexico, 1839-40. Died at sea while returning to Texas, November 30, 1840. Very little information has been found regarding Treat, though he played an important, though brief, rôle in Texan diplomacy. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 451, footnote; in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1908, II.) There is a tombstone in Wethersfield, Connecticut, erected to the memory of "James Treat, died November 30, 1840. Buried in Galveston, Texas." (J. Harvey Treat, *Genealogy of the Treat Family*, 505.) The author of this work knew only that Treat was a "Minister to Mexico," and could find no record of his previous history.

<sup>3</sup>The copies listed in the margin, all of which bore upon the "Eliza Russell" and "Little Penn" claims, were the following: (1) Palmerston to Pakenham, February 15, 1840, No. 10, with list of enclosures (F. O., Mexico, 133); (2) Pakenham to Palmerston, April 30, 1840, No. 43, with two enclosures (F. O., Mexico, 135); (3) same to same, August 22, 1840, No. 77, with one enclosure (F. O., Mexico, 137); (4) Palmerston to Hamilton, November 28, 1840 (F. O., Texas, *Domestic*, 1); (5) Aberdeen to Pakenham, June 1, 1842, No. 18 (F. O., Mexico, 152). The last letter notifies Pakenham that henceforth Elliot will assume the duty of pressing these claims on Texas.

When you receive these Documents, you will be in possession of all that has passed on the Subject of these Claims; And I have to instruct You to lose no time in pressing them in the strongest manner upon the serious attention of the Texian Govt. as Claims which H. Mjty. fully expect and require should be adjusted without further delay.

In conclusion I have to call your attention to the fact, that great pains have been taken to examine into the Evidence adduced by the parties interested, with respect to the amount of their Claims, and that those Claims have, through the interposition of H. M. Govt. been reduced to the lowest Sum to which the Parties appear in justice to be entitled.

Ab[erdee]n.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Gregory's Hotel, Arundel St.  
Haymarket, July 2d. 1842.

My Lord,

According to the various accounts which have recently arrived from the United States, it would appear that the greater part of the Texan Navy had (as I have already intimated) proceeded to New Orleans and Mobile, for the purpose of refitting and obtaining Stores. There seems no reason to doubt that it was the intention of the Government of Texas to reinforce the blockade

The Texan Congress had been summoned to meet at the close of last Month, and the President was, in the meantime, arranging the Army for the projected invasion of Mexico. The force called to the field may be estimated at 5,000 Men, which, in case of actual hostilities, would be largely increased by Volunteers from the United States.

The Count de Breteuil, French Secretary of Legation at Mexico, is among the list of passengers brought by the Great Western. This is the second import of French diplomacy from Mexico within a short period of time.

In acknowledging the honor of Your Lordship's Note of the 27th ult, I feel a degree of self-reproach lest I should have been much too inconsiderate in pressing for a reply. Per-

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

haps a palliatory plea for undue susceptibility might be found in the fact that my position with relation to Your Lordship has been that of an applicant for office

Permit me to explain that the political aim of the contemplated work was to be the establishment of peace between Texas and Mexico. I may add that, were I in the employment of Government, I would be strongly indisposed to venture into print without the knowledge and sanction of the head of the department [to] which I was attached.

The name of Tho. L. M. Rate,<sup>1</sup> of the firm of Rickards Little & Co 15 Bishopsgate St. Within, has been transmitted by Mr. Ashbel Smith to his Government, to be substituted for mine in the Commission of Consul General for Texas in Great Britain

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

#### KENNEDY TO BIDWELL<sup>2</sup>

[July 6, 1842.]

Mr. Kennedy presents his compliments to Mr. Bidwell, and begs to submit the following facts, in reference to the appointment of a Consul, or a Vice Consul, at Galveston—leaving out of view Mr. Kennedy's own impression that the Government intended to grant him *Consular* rank.

1. France and the United States (each represented by a Chargé d'Affaires) have their respective Consuls at Galveston, who will by Virtue of their rank necessarily exercise greater weight than a British Vice-Consul. The inconvenience of this will suggest itself to Mr. Bidwell's experience

2. The Seat of Government in Texas is on the Indian frontier, distant from the more populous Settlements, and above two hundred Miles from Galveston, with which it is unconnected by any regular and speedy means of conveyance. For all commercial purposes requiring despatch and arising out of Maritime intercourse, with the Coast, the services of a Consul General stationed

<sup>1</sup>Lachlan McIntosh Rate. He was recommended to Ashbel Smith by Kennedy on June 30, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 991, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

at Austin would be altogether useless. Yet the representatives of France and the United States have their official residence at Austin, and the representative of Great Britain cannot reside elsewhere without material detriment to the efficient exercise of his diplomatic functions. The unsettled state of affairs in Texas would seem peculiarly to demand the constant attention of the British Consul General at the Seat of Government.

3. There are several ports on the Coast of Texas which might properly fall under the supervision of a British Consul at Galveston through his Agents. I may enumerate Sabine, at the Mouth of the river of that name, Velasco, on the Brazos, Matagorda and the adjoining places, Copano and its neighbourhood, and Corpus Christi. Matagorda is already the seat of a considerable and growing Commerce, and there is every reason to anticipate that a very few Years will bring an important increase to the trade of all. The United States have Vice-Consuls at Velasco and Matagorda, and, I believe, at Sabine

For the several reasons herein adduced—namely—The practice of France and the United States—the remoteness of the Consul General's Official residence from the principal Seaports, and the extent of district requiring Consular supervision, together with the prospect of an early enlargement of our commercial operations in Texas. Mr. Kennedy respectfully submits (apart from the consideration of his personal claims or impressions) that an agent of the British Government holding *Consular* rank should be stationed at Galveston

Gregory's Hotel Arundel St. Haymarket.

July 6th. 1842.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Gregory's Hotel.

Arundel St. Haymarket

July 7th. 1842.

My Lord,

I yesterday received private letters from Galveston in Texas which confirms generally the information I have communicated

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

to Your Lordship respecting the blockade and the projected invasion of Mexico. The Texan Commodore has sailed to New Orleans and Mobile, for the purpose of refitting, leaving a single brig of war (the Wharton) to watch the Mexican Coast.

From the posture of affairs at the date of my letters, I should think that the invading army of Texas would be on its March towards the Mexican frontier about the first of next Month. There seems to be no want of Men or Military means. The avowed object of the war is to extort from Mexico the recognition of Texan independence, and, with it, permanent peace.

From an earnest desire to avoid troubling Your Lordship with renewed application on the subject of my appointment, I called yesterday on Mr. Bidwell, to ascertain what steps had been taken in reference to the Galveston Consulate.

Contrary to my understanding of Your Lordship's kind and complimentary offer of the 6th Ult. it was intimated by Mr. Bidwell that my name had been sent into him for the Subordinate rank of Vice Consul at Galveston. The inexpediency of such an appointment, in a business point of view, I have endeavoured to demonstrate in a Note to Mr. Bidwell. Its want of accordance with the offer of which I signified my acceptance, and for which I declined the Consul Generalship of Texas in this Country, I beg respectfully to indicate to Your Lordship, from whom the instructions necessary for rectifying the matter are required to proceed.

A probable absence of some years in a foreign Country demands not a few preparatory arrangements, more especially if that Country should be, like Texas, recently settled. Among other things, I find that the transport of a dwelling house from England will be requisite. The order for this, which it will take some time to execute, only awaits the issue of my Commission.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL<sup>1</sup>

[July 14, 1842.]

Mr. Kennedy presents his Compliments to Mr. Bidwell, and in the hope that he is not unduly importunate, begs to remind him of

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

his obliging promise to send Mr. K. a letter signifying his appointment to the Consulate at Galveston—early in the present week. In the anticipation of being favoured with this letter, he had made arrangements for leaving London to join his family and recruit his health on the Coast.

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St., Haymarket.

July 14th. 1842.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.

F. O July 15. 1842

Captain Elliot.

No. 9.

Sir,

In my despatch No. 7, of the 1st. inst. I instructed you to press upon the Govt. of Texas the great impolicy on their part of continuing the Blockade of the Coast of Mexico; and to represent to them the earnest desire and recommendation of H. M. Govt. that they should not persevere in such an exercise of belligerent rights.

You will still endeavour to attain that object by every means in your power. But if, contrary to the just expectation of H. M. Govt. the Texian Govt. should determine to maintain the Blockade, I have to instruct you to apply to them to give directions to the Officers commanding the Blockading Vessels not to interfere with the Vessels of the Royal Mail Steam Company employed by H. M. Govt., but to suffer those Vessels to continue to perform unmolested the Packet Service on the Mexican Coast, in the same manner as the British Packets were allowed to perform the same service during the French Blockade on that Coast.<sup>2</sup> And if the Texian Govt. acquiesce in this demand, as that of Her Majesty feel satisfied they will, you will communicate that fact to H. M. Minister in Mexico, as well as to the Commander of H. M. Naval forces in the West Indies, and to the Agents of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company at Jamaica and the Havannah.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup>In 1838 France blockaded Mexican ports to enforce adjustment of French Claims. (H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, ch. VIII.)

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.  
Captain Elliot  
No. 10.

Foreign Office  
July 16. 1842.

Sir.

I enclose herewith, for your Information, Copies of a Correspondence which has recently taken place between this Department, and the Chargé d'Affaires of Texas, and also between this Department and the Admiralty,<sup>2</sup> on the subject of two Steam Vessels, the "Montezuma", and "Guadalupe", which have been fitted out in the Ports of Great Britain by Messrs. Lizardi and Co. for the service of the Mexican Government; against the fitting out, and supposed arming and officering of which Vessels the Texian Chargé d'Affaires protested.<sup>3</sup>

A prior Correspondence had already taken place between this Department and Messrs. Lizardi and Co. and the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, on the subject of a permission which was requested by Messrs. Lizardi and Co. to arm the Vessels in question. That permission was refused on the ground of the private character of the Vessels until they should have reached Vera Cruz,

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Smith to F. O., June 14 and July 1, 1842; F. O. to Admiralty, July 5 and 7, 1842; Admiralty to F. O., July 6, 8 and 12, 1842; F. O. to Murphy, May 31, 1842.

<sup>3</sup>These two vessels were intended to rehabilitate the Mexican navy. They were built in English ports, equipped, with the official sanction of Aberdeen, by a firm regularly supplying stores to the British navy, and at first it was also intended that they might be armed by similar firms, and commanded by English naval officers on leave. These last two plans were prohibited by Aberdeen after protest by Ashbel Smith, though in fact the ships were taken out by British naval officers who resigned their commissions. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 83-96.) The matter occupies much space in Ashbel Smith's despatches from May to September, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 955-1026, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.) The correspondence listed in this letter is to be found as follows: (1) letters to and from Ashbel Smith, in reference just given to Garrison, III, 986 and 977; (2) letters to and from the Admiralty, in F. O., Mexico, 158, Domestic Various (Addington to Barrow, and replies); (3) letter to Murphy, in F. O., Mexico, 157, Domestic, Mr. Murphy. This last communication though dated May 31, was not sent to Murphy until July 15. Further letters on the *Montezuma* and *Guadalupe* affair will be omitted in this printing, unless they contain other matters of importance.

at which period alone they were to become *bonâ fide* the Property of the Mexican Government.

Had they been fitted out in Great Britain by the order, and on the account of the Mexican Government, that permission might legally have been granted, but, being private Property, so long as they remained in a British Port, such permission would have been contrary to Law.

I enclose herewith a Copy of the Letter by which the decision of H. M's Government on this point was conveyed to Mr. Murphy

I communicate this Letter to you, not as having any direct connexion with the Correspondence between Myself and the Texian Chargé d'Affaires referred to in the first Clause of this despatch, but merely as calculated to give you, and to enable you to give the Government of Texas, a clearer Insight into the Principles which have guided Her M's Government in this matter, as well as in that which formed the subject of that Correspondence

Our determination is to observe a strict neutrality in the present Contest between Mexico and Texas; a perfect impartiality in our Conduct towards both Parties; and a rigid adherence to law in all that regards the Proceedings of either in respect to Great Britain.

So long as the Steam Vessels in question are, in the eye of English Law, private property and unarmed, although they may be surmised, or even known, to be destined for the use of the Mexican Government, the British Government has no right to interfere with them; nor were the Vessels destined for the use of the Texian, instead of the Mexican Government, would the conduct of Great Britain be altered in any particular

You will make a frank Communication to this effect to the Government of Texas.

I have thought it expedient to enter thus fully into the subject, as I am conscious that to Persons not thoroughly acquainted with the peculiarities of British Law, some doubts might present themselves as to the Principles on which we have acted in this matter.

The above explanations are intended to dissipate these doubts, and will, I feel confident, succeed in doing so.

Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Despatch No. 11, Aberdeen to Elliot, July 16, 1842, omitted here, transmitted copy of despatch No. 48, Fakenham to Aberdeen, June 2, 1842, and

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Glasgow, August 1st. 1842.

My Lord,

Having visited the West of Scotland to take leave of old and kind friends, I have been consulted by a number of the industrious artizans who, suffering from want of employment, are desirous to emigrate to Texas. The Engineers Association, which has a common fund of £40,000 and supports four hundred unemployed workmen, has some idea of purchasing Texan lands and planting these men upon them. In the present doubtful state of the relations between Mexico and Texas, I cannot recommend immediate and extensive Settlement in the latter Country. I beg to mention these facts as they may have some weight with Your Lordship in the negotiations for peace.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>2</sup>No. 3.<sup>3</sup>

New Orleans, August 14th. 1842

My Lord,

I have had the honor to receive Your Lordship's despatches No. 9, 10, and 11 of 1842.

An accidental interruption of the Communication by American Steam Vessels between Cuba and New Orleans, and the failure of the Outward West India Mail of the 15th June beyond Nassau in New Providence, detained me at the Havannah till the 30th Ultimo.

the latter's reply to same despatch No. 38, Aberdeen to Pakenham, July 15, 1842, in regard to the threatened blockade of Mexican ports by the Texans.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.<sup>3</sup>No. 1, Elliot to Aberdeen, acknowledging receipt of despatches; and No. 2, reporting that he is *en route* to his post, are omitted.

Upon my arrival at this place too, on the 6th Instant, I find that the passage Vessels plying between Galveston and New Orleans have either been sent on to New York, or laid up here; from want of sufficient employment at this Season of the year. But I am informed that a Steam Vessel will sail to Texas on the 16th or 17th Instant, and I hope therefore to reach my post before the close of this week. In the mean time I have been able to collect some information which it appears to be desirable to transmit without delay.

During my detention at the Havannah Her Majesty's Ship "Victor" arrived there from Vera Cruz, having recently visited Galveston. Captain Otway informed me that the President of Texas had assured him that particular orders had already been issued to the Commander of the Texian Vessels of War not to interfere with the Ships of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company visiting the Ports of Mexico, and Captain Otway had forwarded a communication to that effect to the Vice Admiral on this Station, and to Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico.

Up to the latest period that there is information here from the Coast of Mexico, there had been no effectual blockade of the Ports involved in General Houston's Notification, and for Your Lordship's further information in that respect I beg to inclose a brief statement of the actual force and situation of the Texian Marine, which I believe may be depended upon.

I shall not fail earnestly to press the principal point of Your Lordships Instructions in the despatch No. 9, upon the Government of Texas, and judging from the Moderate and friendly tenor of the President's intercourse with Captain Otway upon that subject, and from the means of maintaining a Blockade now placed under Your Lordship's notice, it seems reasonable to conclude that they will accede to the desire and recommendation of Her Majesty's Government.

I would beg to remark that Your Lordship's despatches No. 6, 7, and 8, probably forwarded through the West India line of communication, have not yet reached me.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

## [Enclosure]

Statement of the actual force and situation of the Texian Marine.

"Austin"	Corvette.	18 guns.	Now at New Orleans.	
"Wharton"	Brig.	16 guns.	Do.	Do.
"San Bernardo"	Schooner	7 guns.	Cruizing.	
"San Antonio"	Do.	Do.	At Galveston	

A Man of War Brig, and Steam Vessel at Galveston, dismantled and unmanned.

August 14th. 1842.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Harrogate. August 25th. 1842.

My Lord,

By a copy of the Gazette of the 19th Inst. which has been transmitted to me from London, I have been apprized of my appointment to the Consulate of Galveston.

Permit me, My Lord, to tender to you my best acknowledgements, not merely for the recognition of my claims, as signified by the appointment, but for the kindness so grateful to my feelings, which I have experienced in approaching and communicating with your Lordship.

By advice of my Physician, I am taking the Harrogate waters, my health being considerably impaired. In ten or twelve days, I propose visiting London, and shall be prepared to leave England for Galveston about the first of October, should Your Lordship not deem it necessary to prescribe an earlier day for my departure.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>2</sup>

No. 4.

Houston. August 29th. 1842.

My Lord,

An immediate opportunity to New Orleans affords me the hope of reporting to Your Lordship, by this Mail which leaves Boston

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. In this, as in many of Elliot's letters, the paragraphing is uncertain. The arrangement here followed is that which the copyist has fixed upon as best indicating Elliot's intention.

on the 15th Proximo, my arrival in Texas, on the 23d Instant. Owing to bad weather there was no communication between Galveston and this place till the 27th; and the next day being Sunday I was not presented to the President till today.

I had however in the mean time delivered Your Lordship's despatch addressed to the Secretary of State of this Republic to Mr. Terrell, the Attorney General and a Member of the Cabinet, charged during the illness of the Secretary, with the duties of his Office. I had also shewn Mr. Terrell my Commission as Consul General (of which he expressed a wish to take a Copy) and he informed me that the exequatur would be furnished immediately.

I mentioned to Mr. Terrell that being anxious to communicate with Your Lordship by the Steam Boat about to sail to New Orleans, I hoped he would excuse me for entering upon business at so early a period of our intercourse, and give me leave to call his attention to the subject of certain despatches which had reached me since my departure from England.

Mr. Terrell obligingly assured me that he would endeavor to afford me all the information I might require and would confer with the President before I saw him, in order that His Excellency might express his own views upon any points in question.

I then read to Mr. Terrell Your Lordships despatch No. 9, requesting him to observe that it adverted to Instructions of an earlier date, which had not yet reached me, so that I was without the advantage of knowing all that Your Lordship desired to convey upon the impolicy of the Blockade, supposed to exist, when that despatch was written.

But apart from all sources of objection, and even assuming that an effectual blockade of the Mexican Ports be maintained by the Texian Marine in it's actual force, still I thought the President could not fail to perceive that it would be a Measure of much more inconvenience to powers friendly to Texas, than to Mexico. That State was under heavy obligations abroad: And with very burdensome charges at home, arising chiefly from extraordinary armament alleged to be intended for the invasion of Texas, it would surely be disadvantageous to this Republic, and must be repugnant to the Dispositions of the President, to pursue a course of which the effect would be the increased difficulty of drawing

funds from this Country, to the embarrassment of foreign Creditors, much rather than the distress of the Mexican Government

Mr. Terrell did not impugn this reasoning, but remarked that particular orders had already been given to the Officers of the Texian Marine not to interfere with vessels engaged in the Packet Service of Great Britain, and he hoped therefore there would be less inconvenience than might otherwise be the case. He would not fail, however, to press all I had urged upon the President.

I next turned to Your Lordship's despatch No. 10, respecting the equipment of the Steam Ships said to be intended for the Service of the Mexican Government, but Mr. Terrell at once assured me that the President was perfectly aware of British law and practice in that particular, and was convinced that the Government of Texas might always depend upon exactly the same advantages with respect to equipment in England, or in any other respect, as had been enjoyed by the Mexican Government.

I said that it was the main object of Your Lordship's despatch to satisfy the Government of Texas of the determination of that of Her Majesty to adhere to a rigidly strict Neutrality in the contest between Mexico and their Republic, and as that feeling was so well understood, I might dismiss the subject with the expression of a sincere hope that the difficulty would be speedily and peacefully concluded.

It seemed to me that the Instruction of Your Lordship's despatch No. 11, respecting the period from which the exercise of any blockade could be admitted should most properly form the subject of a Note, whenever there was any probability that a blockade would be established, and under that impression I did not enter upon that point at present.

The President received me with great cordiality, and entered fully into the situation and views upon the subject of Mexico. He said that he had always been influenced by the sincerest disposition to adjust the difficulties with that Government upon the most moderate footing, involving the acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic; that He was heartily adverse to an aggressive warfare upon their frontier, which he was sensible with the present means of the Government, could only have the effect of destroying the prosperity, and inciting the lasting ill will of a section of the Mexican population, with which they wish to be

neighbours, and should therefore cultivate most friendly relations. He said that his own moderate views were not responded to upon the part of the people of this Republic, particularly of the Native portion of it, highly inflamed by constant incursion upon the part of the Mexicans; And he saw reason to apprehend that the continuance of these raids would drive him, contrary to his dispositions, into measures of a similar nature, but of far more extensive effect. The relations of this Government with certain Indian tribes always left it in his power to carry on a warfare of the most formidable description along the whole Eastern frontier of Mexico, but he repeated that he was adverse to the adoption of such courses, and would still hope for more satisfactory conclusions.

He now said, that if I saw no inconvenience in doing so, he should feel obliged to me to lose no time in writing to Mr. Pakenham, and requesting that Gentleman to make a communication upon his (the Presidents part) to General Saint Anna, to the effect that He was ready to consent to an armistice for any length of time, and upon any conditions, that Mr. Pakenham might consider suitable, with the view to the mature adjustment of a permanent and satisfactory arrangement between the contending parties. He would wish it to be stated that it was only from feelings of respect towards the Governments of Her Majesty, and the United States, and in reliance upon their continued friendly efforts, and He must add in some reliance too upon the moderation and good faith of General Saint Anna himself, that he had always felt himself bound to make every reasonable attempt to maintain his own forbearing policy; and he had done so at the sacrifice, or at least the temporary sacrifice of his own popularity with the greater part of his fellow Citizens.

I thanked His Excellency for this mark of his confidence, and for a communication of views which could hardly fail to be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government on account of their moderation, but I begged him to observe, that beyond the fact of the determination of Her Majesty's Government to adhere to a strict neutrality in this contest, and my own conviction of It's sincerest desire, that it should be promptly and happily adjusted, I was wholly without instructions as to the particular course which Her Majesty's Government might decide to take for the furtherance of pacification, either in point of channel, or in point of principle.

At the same time I certainly did not perceive that there could be any impropriety or inconvenience in writing to Mr. Pakenham to the effect the President had suggested, and that Gentleman would of course be able to judge to what extent it would be in his power to meet His Excellency's wishes.

I think it may be convenient to Your Lordship to peruse the Veto Message with which the President returned a recent Act of Congress authorizing offensive War against Mexico,<sup>1</sup> and I have therefore taken the liberty to inclose it. I would also beg to add that I shall forward a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ministers at Mexico and Washington.

The suddenness of this opportunity, and my recent arrival will I trust be my reason for the incompleteness of the information, I am able to transmit by this occasion; But Your Lordship may be assured that I shall not fail to press the impolicy of a Blockade upon the attention of the Government, whenever there is any prospect of its establishment, which is not the case at present.

The latest intelligence from Mexico at this place is of the 11th Instant, and at that time it was the general belief that the force about to embark was destined for Yucatan.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.  
Downing Street.

#### ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Draft.  
Capt. Elliot.  
No. 12.<sup>3</sup>

Foreign Office  
Augt. 31st. 1842.

Sir,

I transmit to you herewith a Copy of a letter from the Admiralty<sup>4</sup> relating to a claim on the Texian Govt. for supplies furnished by the Commandr. of H. M. S. "Comus" to the Officer commanding the Schooner of the Texian Govt. "San Bernard"

<sup>1</sup>The President's veto message to the bill "authorizing offensive war against Mexico" is dated July 22nd, and was printed in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of July 27, 1842.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>3</sup>For the character of No. 11 see page 323, note.

<sup>4</sup>Dated June 12, 1841.\*

amounting to £3-15-9 and inclosing in original an order on the Captain Commanding the Texian Squadron at Galveston signed by the Commander of the "San Bernard," for the payment of that Sum I have to instruct you to apply to the Texian Govt. for the amount of this Claim and transmit the same to this Dept.

H. U. A[ddington].

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON<sup>1</sup>

No. 5.

Galveston, September 1st. 1842.

Sir.

It was intended that the Capital of this Republic should be at Austin upon the river Colorado, but the state of public affairs led the President to assemble the last Congress at Houston, and since that time the Government has been temporarily residing there. It is not known when, or indeed whether it will return to Austin, or where the next meeting of the Legislature will be held.

In this uncertainty as to the permanent seat of Government, I trust Lord Aberdeen will sanction my residing usually at this place, which I find that Mr. Eve the American Minister is doing with the sanction of his Government, and Monsieur de Saligny my French Colleague, also lived here, after the retirement of the Government from Austin, till his return to Europe on leave of absence. There is a constant communication between Galveston and Houston by Steamer, so that the arrangement is free of inconvenience.

I mentioned to the President that the state of my health made it an object to me to live nearer to the Sea Coast than Houston, and He requested me to consult my own convenience in that respect.

Charles Elliot

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>No. 1.<sup>2</sup>

Galveston, September 4th. 1842.

My Lord

I beg leave to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 1 of the 28th June last, transmitting a letter to the address of the Secretary of State of the Republic, Accrediting me as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Texas.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>3</sup>

No. 2.

Galveston, September 4th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to Acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 2. of the 28th June, acquainting me, that Her Majesty has been pleased to declare that I shall receive an additional Allowance, at the rate of one pound a day, to meet the additional expences to which I shall be liable as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires to this Republic, and farther that the Allowance is to date from the day on which I arrived at my post. It has already been reported to Your Lordship, that the date of my arrival was the 23rd Ultimo.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>4</sup>

No. 3.

Galveston. September 4th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to Acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 3 of the 1st July, and shall not fail to observe those Instructions.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.<sup>2</sup>Elliot now begins to number despatches as from chargé d'affaires, since he is now accredited in that capacity. His previous despatches to No. 5 were written as consul general.<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.<sup>4</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

It will be my duty to Submit to Your Lordship some information and news upon the points to which my attention has been directed by an early occasion.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

No. 4.

Galveston. September 4th. 1842

My Lord,

I have the honor to Acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 4. of the 1st July, enclosing a Copy of the Protocol of a Conference between Your Lordship, and Mr. Ashbell Smith, at the Foreign Office, on the 28th June last, recording the exchange of the Ratifications of the three undermentioned Treaties, between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas.

1. A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed at London on the 13th November 1840.

2d. A Convention containing certain arrangements relative to the public Debt, signed at London on the 14th Novr. 1840:—and

3d. A Treaty for the Suppression of African Slave Trade, signed at London on the 16th November 1840.

I have also to Acknowledge the receipt of six Copies of each of the above Treaties, signed on the 13th and 14th November 1840. And also Copies of Protocols of the conferences held at the Foreign Office on the 19th May and 14th October 1841, between the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Texas, extending the time for the exchange of the Ratifications.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON<sup>1</sup>*Separate.*

Galveston, September 4th. 1842.

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 7 July transmitting the copy of a letter received from the Treasury, stating the reasons for which their Lordships consider that they cannot grant me any allowance in consideration of the extraordinary expence I had incurred whilst acting as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China.

Although their Lordships have not felt themselves justified in entertaining that request I trust it will be remembered that I was detained in London upon the public Service for some months after my return from China, entirely at my own charge; And I hope therefore that Lord Aberdeen will move their Lordships to pay me my full salary as Consul General in Texas from the expiration of the Month's leave of absence granted to me after my arrival in England in the Month of November last year, till I commenced to draw my allowances, that is, ten days before the date of my departure, on the 1st June last. The specific period for which I would respectfully submit this claim to their Lordship's consideration, is that between the 1st January last, and the above date, when I actually commenced to draw my allowances.

My detention was occasioned by the desire of the Lords of the Treasury, that I should remain in England pending the examination of the Accounts of a very large sum of money which I had received for the use of the Crown, and though it has not been possible for their Lordships upon principle which I do not presume to question, to make me any allowance for my Services as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China, still I cannot but hope that it will be thought right to relieve me from the burdensome expence of a residence in London, attributable to motives of public convenience.

Charles Elliot.

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON<sup>1</sup>

Consular.

Galveston Sept 4th. 1842.

No. 7.<sup>2</sup>

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatch No. 6, directing me to separate my diplomatic from my Consular despatches by affixing a distinct set of numbers to each and marking the last with the word *Consular*; and I remain. . . .

Charles Elliot.

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>3</sup>

No. 8

Houston September 10th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 8 of June 28th last, relative to the claims on account of certain outrages, committed upon two British Merchant Vessels named the "Eliza Russell" and "Little Pen" by Vessels in the Service of the Texian Authorities

In obedience to Your Lordship's Instructions, I shall not fail to press these Claims in the strongest manner upon the serious attention of the Texian Government, as Claims which Her Majesty's Government fully expect and require should be adjusted without further delay. I find, indeed, that the sum of three thousand eight hundred and forty dollars was appropriated by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress on the 25th January 1840, in satisfaction of the claim on account of the "Eliza Russell" and therefore the only difficulty in respect to that matter, arises from the actually exhausted condition of the Treasury.

Observing in Your Lordship's despatch before me, that Mr. Pakenham has been instructed to transmit to me certain papers relating to these claims I am unwilling to open the Subject till

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.<sup>2</sup>Nos. 5 and 6, Elliot to Aberdeen, acknowledging receipt of despatches, are omitted.<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

they reach me, particularly as I collect from the Gentleman in temporary charge of the State Department here, that He believes there were some obstacles concerning the Claim for the Cargo saved from the "Little Pen" and in the absence of the Secretary of State and Attorney General, He was not able to explain to me the exact nature of the difficulties.

The papers from Mexico will probably reach me by the next arrival from New Orleans, and I propose therefore to delay my application for a few days.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

Galveston September 13th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have now the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 7 of July 1st and the Inclosure<sup>2</sup> is a note which I addressed to this Government under those Instructions.

The President informed Mr. Eve, the Chargé d'Affaires from the United States, and Myself the day before yesterday, that it was his purpose forthwith to revoke the Notification of the 26th March, as respected Neutrals.

I should inform Your Lordship that Mr. Eve had been instructed in the same sense as myself, respecting the blockade, and had made a Communication to the same effect.

He told us He should adopt this course in deference to the views and wishes of our respective Governments; and very sensible of their friendly dispositions He would take the same occasion to express to me the hope that they would strenuously interpose to put an end to the predatorial character of the warfare, waged by the Mexicans along the Western side of the frontier of this Republic.

He would indeed suggest to us that it would have an immediate,

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The despatch is not numbered.

<sup>2</sup>Elliot to Terrell, September 10, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1012; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

and most advantageous effect, (supposing it were consistant with our Situation) if we would communicate directly with the Mexican Officers commanding at the frontier posts, signifying, that the Ministers of our Countries at Mexico, were endeavouring to Mediate between the two Republics. that the President of Texas had desisted from all kinds of aggressive warfare, and requesting the Mexican Officers to pursue the same course on their Side. The President by no means deprecated regular invasion, or warfare of an honorable character.—He was prepared for that, He did hope that the Governments of friendly Nations, would use their earnest, and powerful efforts, to abolish a course of Raid and robbery, utterly at variance with the Spirit of the Age, and disgraceful to the Country by which it was pursued.

I said, that as far as I was concerned, I must at once declare that I did not feel myself warranted in writing directly to the Mexican Officers, because Her Majesty's Government was represented in Mexico, and I was sure the President would think on reflection that the proper, and I should add, the most favorable Channel, for all Communications to Mexican Authorities, or Officers, founded upon the influence of the British Government, was through that Medium. But I entertained no doubt that the nature of the warfare to which the President adverted, would be contemplated by Her Majesty's Government with feelings of great concern, and I was equally assured, that Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico would cordially endeavour to dissuade its continuance. It seemed to me too that His prospects of success in that, and still more important respects, must be strengthened by every evidence of the President's moderation.

With these convictions I would lose no time in communicating with the distinguished Gentleman in question; and beyond the general motives likely to influence him I thought I might also point to the many, and recent proofs, He had afforded of friendly feelings towards the Republic, and its Citizens, His interference with the Mexican Government for such purposes as the President wished, would be much more efficacious than my own, addressed directly to its Officers, even if I felt myself in a Situation to write to them, which I really did not. Mr. Eve adopted the same course of reasoning, and the President, admitting it's cogency, said, He

would rely upon the efforts of our respective Official Correspondents at Mexico, and was well assured of their friendly dispositions.

During my late visit to Houston, the President took occasion to Speak to me again very fully respecting His relations with the Indian tribes, and requested it might be particularly pressed upon Her Majesty's Government, that He had only been prevented from ravaging the Mexican frontier by Motives of great personal repugnance to desolating measures of retaliation. I must by this time become sensible however, of the extreme difficulty with which He has been able to adhere to this Moderate policy, and He certainly felt that it could not be maintained under any further continuance of provocation upon the part of the Mexicans. Very late intelligence from the Western frontier brought accounts of frequent incursions and robbery, by parties of Mexicans, and such proceedings would compel retaliation.

I told the President that I had not failed to report to Your Lordship, what He had stated on a former occasion upon the same Subject, and I could not but think that Her Majesty's Government would recognize, and respect the wisdom of his abstinence (in spite of popular discontent) from aggressive hostilities, hopeless of conclusive effect upon the contending party, full of hazard to themselves, and productive of nothing certain except enduring hatred on the frontier, and the organization of adventurous predatory bands, on either side of it. With no power on either part to draw this contest to a close; I could not but think that the more moderate would carry with it most of the good will of bystanding and powerful parties; The President said He had never missed that consideration, and rested much hope in its Soundness.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Galveston September 17th. 1842

P. S. The deferred departure of this vessel which conveys these despatches, offered me an opportunity to transmit to Your Lordship the Copy of a Communication from this Government,<sup>1</sup> cover-

<sup>1</sup>Waples to Elliot, September 14, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1014, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

ing the President's proclamation revoking the Blockade of the 26th March, Copy of which is also herewith transmitted

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

No. 9.

Galveston, September 22d. 1842.

My Lord,

The accompanying Newspapers<sup>2</sup> will place Your Lordship in possession of the information which has reached this place, announcing the Capture of Saint Antonio de Bexar by a Mexican force, on the 11th Instant.

Your Lordship will observe that the Government entertains no doubt of the accuracy of that intelligence, but I am not able to offer any opinion upon the correctness of this Statement of force, in the occupation of Saint Antonio, or in any of the Misc. details reported in these papers

The effects of a severe hurricane which visited this place on the 9th Instant has delayed the departure of the vessel conveying My despatches to New Orleans, till this afternoon, and I am thus enabled to forward Your Lordship this brief report by the same occasion.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. etc.

P. S. The latest intelligence from the Court of Mexico is to the 13th Ultimo.

Charles Elliot.

ABERDEEN TO KENNEDY<sup>3</sup>

Draft.

F. O. Sept. 29th. 1842.

Mr. Wm. Kennedy.

Galveston.

No. 1.

Sir.

The Queen having been graciously pleased to appoint you to be H. M's, Consul at Galveston, I inclose to you herewith H. M.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>2</sup>The *Houston Morning Star* and *Houstonian* for September 20, 1842.

<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Commission to that effect, and I have to desire that you will proceed to your Post with as little delay as possible.

You will lose no time in making yourself conversant with the details of the Consular Service, and with the nature and extent of your Duties. I inclose to you for this purpose a Copy of the General Instructions to H. M. Consuls with the several annexes therein referred to; and I have to draw your particular attention to the Circular Despatches relating to those Instructions, dated the 30th Sept 1833, 1t Oct. 1836, and 1t of Augt. 1842.

You will be punctual in forwarding to this Dept., at the regular periods, the Returns required by the General Instructions; and it will be your duty to avail yourself of every favorable opportunity to collect and transmit to me any further useful or interesting information which you may be able to obtain, relating to Commerce, Navigation, and to any other Branch of Statisticks.

You will receive a Salary of £500 a year to commence ten days previously to the day of your embarkation for your Post, and permission is given to you to engage in Commercial pursuits

You are, however, to understand that you will not be entitled to any Pension or Allowance upon the termination of your Services at Galveston.

Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN TO KENNEDY<sup>1</sup>

Draft.

F. O. Sept. 29th. 1842.

Consul Kennedy.

Galveston.

No. 2.

Sir,

I think it right to draw your special attention to Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the General Instructions, and to caution you against involving yourself in difficulties with the Ruling Authorities of Texas— You will distinctly understand that your Duties are confined to the care of British Interests at the Port of Galveston and its immediate neighbourhood, and that if at any time, from want of proper redress being offered by the local Auths. of that

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Port, or from any other cause, you may think that a Representation should be made to the Supreme Govt. of Texas, you will make *your* Representation to H. M's Chargé d'Affaires in that Country, who will take such steps thereon as he may deem expedient, in accordance with the Instructions which he may have recd. from H. M's Govt. You will at all times implicitly obey any directions which Captain Elliot may give to you for the guidance of your official conduct

Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

Draft.  
Captain Elliot.  
No. 13.

F. O. Octr. 3d. 1842.

Sir,

I herewith transmit to you, for your information, a Copy of a letter which I have addressed to Mr. Ashbel Smith the Texian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court informing him that H. M. Govt. consider the Blockade of the Ports of Mexico announced by the President of the Republick of Texas on the 26th of March last as null and of no effect<sup>2</sup>

I also inclose a Copy of the London Gazette of the 23d inst containing a notification to that effect

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>3</sup>

Draft.  
Captain Elliot.  
No. 14.

F. O. Octr. 3d. 1842.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 10 of the 16th of July last relative to the two Steam Vessels fitting out in England for the use of the Mexican Govt, I herewith transmit to you, for your information, copies of a further correspondence upon this subject,

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup>See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1034-1035; in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1908, II.

<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

as marked in the margin,<sup>1</sup> which has passed between myself and the Mexican and Texian Chargé's d'Affaires at this Court.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Draft.

Foreign Office.

Captain Elliot.

October 3rd. 1842.

No. 15.

Sir,

Your Despatch No. 4 of the 29th of August has been received at this Office this Morning, and I lose no time in expressing to you, and desiring that you will convey to the President of Texas, the satisfaction which Her Majesty's Government have derived from the moderation of his Language and Proceedings with respect to Mexico.

You will, at the same time repeat to him the firm determination of Her Majesty's Government to employ their best exertions to put a stop to the fruitless and desultory War which still exists between Mexico and Texas, and you will not conceal from him their conviction that the continual forbearance and conciliatory conduct of the Texian Government will prove their best auxiliary towards enabling them to persuade the Government of Mexico to listen to the dictates of good sense and sound Policy, and to yield to the friendly and disinterested Advice, which counsels them to delay no longer entering into amicable Negotiations with the Republic of Texas, with a view to the formal recognition of its Independence.

ELLIOT TO BIDWELL<sup>3</sup>

Consular.

Galveston October 10th. 1842.

No. 10.

Sir.

At the request of certain of Her Majesty's Subjects resident at this place, and forming part of the Congregation of a Protestant

<sup>1</sup>F. O. to Ashbel Smith, July 16 and September 27, 1842 (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1033 and 1035, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II); Murphy to F. O., August 17 and 20, 1842; F. O. to Murphy, August 23, 1842 (two letters of this date), F. O., Mexico, 157, Domestic, Mr. Murphy; Smith to F. O., September 14 and 19, 1842 (Garrison, *Ibid.*, III, 1017 and 1020).

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Episcopal Church severely injured in the hurrican of the 19th Ultimo, I have taken the liberty to address the inclosed letter to the Bishop of London.<sup>1</sup>

I learn from the Reverend Mr. Eaton that it would require between £400 and £500 to put the Church into a proper state of repair, and this place is labouring under such severe distress of all kinds, that he has no hope of collecting any funds upon the spot, particularly as the expences of it's recent erection has been heavier than had been anticipated.

Mr. Eaton is under the impression that a Chapel at Athens served by a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church of the United States, receives some assistance from Her Majesty's Government.

I have told him that so far as I can judge, the case of the Church at Galveston cannot be brought under the beneficial operation of the Act 8 George the 4th Cap. 87, but if I should be mistaken in that respect perhaps Lord Aberdeen will be pleased to recommend the Subject to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury

In any event I hope His Lordship will perceive no objection to the transmission of the accompanying letter to the Bishop of London.

Charles Elliot.

To J. Bidwell, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>2</sup>

No. 11

Galveston October 17th. 1842.

My Lord,

The communications between the United States and this place have been interrupted since I had the honor to address Your Lordship on the 22d. Ultimo, but it is proposed to dispatch a small vessel in the course of the day to New Orleans, by which occasion I transmit this despatch.

The Mexican force which occupied St. Antonio de Bexar on the 11th Ultimo, retired from there on the 20th, and it is satisfactory to observe that there had been no plunder, and that all the Supplies had been liberally purchased

<sup>1</sup>Not found.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

Part of the Texian levies came up with the retiring force on the "Medena" (about 40 miles Westward of St. Antonio) on the 23d. Ultimo, and skirmished with it, but no General action ensued. I am concerned, however, to say that a Company of Texian Volunteers consisting of about 50 men were cut up, or taken prisoners some days before in an attempt to join their advanced force; stationed too near to St. Antonio, (then in the occupation of the Mexicans) and without secure communication for the approaching small parties of reinforcements.

Nothing authentic is known here of General Woll's<sup>1</sup> actual situation or extent of force, but there is an impression that He has been partially reinforced, and is still to the Eastward of the Rio Grande in some strength.

I am not able to report to Your Lordship the existence of any such state of organization in this Country as the aspect of affairs so urgently requires. The Authority of the Government is not respected, there are no resources, and if there be any serious intention of invasion upon the part of Mexico (of which I have no means of judging) the prospect is unfavorable. In fact, militarily considered, the bad state of the roads seems to be the chief existing obstacle to impede the advance of such a force, as it is to be presumed would be thrown into this Country with any purpose of invasion.

But regarded in other points of view Your Lordship will probably see reason to doubt whether Mexico would derive solid advantage from the destruction of property, and the breaking up of the Establishment in Western Texas. They could hardly push their success into the Eastern part of the Country; or at all events permanently maintain themselves in that neighbourhood; and the probability and consequences of reaction from the South Western parts of the United States are serious considerations.

It is much to be wished that these difficulties may be promptly adjusted. This harassing character of warfare retards indeed, the Settlement of this Country; But it does not appear to strengthen any reasonable prospect of the re-establishment of Mexican Authority in Texas, and futile attempts in that sense

<sup>1</sup>A French officer in the service of Mexico.

may readily induce more serious complications than any at present subsisting

It is generally rumoured that a descent is to be made upon the Island,<sup>1</sup> and if either of the light draught Steam boats have arrived in Mexico, it seems probable that Measure would be adopted (that is to say if invasion be intended) both to establish a basis for their own operations, and to cut off the Sea Communication with the United States.

Report, however, of every kind must be received with more than usual reserve under present circumstances in this Country, and I do not learn upon what better foundation this last statement rests than most of the others in circulation. I have thought it proper to mention it to Your Lordship because of its more general currency, but I can offer no opinion upon its probability.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT<sup>2</sup>

Captain Elliot

F. O. Octr. 18. 1842.

No. 16.

Sir.

With reference to Your dispatch No. 3, of the 14th of Augt. last, and the inclosure therein contained, in which you transmitted a list of the Texian Naval force, and their distribution, I have to desire that you will endeavour to add, as soon as you conveniently can to the information thus conveyed to H. M. Govt. the place at which each of the Vessels described in that list was built and equipped.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>3</sup>

Consular.

Galveston, October 20th. 1842.

No. 11.

My Lord,

I have the honor to submit the Copy of a letter from certain persons resident at Matagorda, Her Majesty's Subjects and others,

<sup>1</sup>Galveston Island.

<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

requesting that a Consul may be appointed for that Port, together with a copy of my own reply

Matagorda is situated off the Mouth of the Colorado River, and will probably become the seat of the Chief trade of the Western part of Texas, when it settles; but I am concerned to report that the late incursions of the Mexicans have seriously thrown back the condition of that Country.

It may be remarked that this point lies with[in] limits, which constituted part of Texas Proper according to the demarcation of former Governments.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

WARD AND INGRAM, AND OTHERS TO ELLIOT<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure]

No. 1.

Matagorda Sept. 24th. 1842.

To Captn. Elliott.

Her Britannic Majesty's

Chargé des Affaires for Texas.

Sir,

The undersigned Citizens of this Place, having learned with pleasure that a treaty of Amity and Commerce has been ratified between Great Britain and this Country, and anticipating an increase of the Commercial relations between the two Countries, believe that the appointment of a British Consul for this Port, would be attended with desirable results.

Understanding that you, Sir, have been appointed Her Majesty's Chargé des Affaires for Texas, and presuming that it would be within your province to make that Appointment, [we] request you to do so; and beg leave respectfully to name as a suitable person our fellow-citizen Mr. Jas. T. Hefford, who with his family have been resident among us for the last three years.

Mr. Hefford is a native and freeman of the City of London, has been some years a member of Lloyd's Coffee House, London, and a number of years engaged in commercial transactions, both in

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

England and the United States. We have the utmost confidence in his ability and integrity and should feel obliged by his appointment.

Signed                    Ward & Ingram.  
                               A. Wadsworth & Co.  
                               J. R. Value & Co.  
                               A. Forster Axson. M. D.  
                               Thos. Harvey. *Not. Pub.*  
                                   and others

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO WARD AND INGRAM, AND OTHERS<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure.]

No. 2.

Galveston, September<sup>2</sup> 19th 1842.

Gentlemen

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 24th Instant, and regret that it is not in my power to make a British Consular appointment for the Port of Matagorda. But I am sensible of its growing importance and it will afford me pleasure to move Her Majesty's Government to comply with your request.

Charles Elliot.

Messrs. Ward and Ingram. and other Citizens of Matagorda

Copy.

Charles Elliot

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>3</sup>

No. 12.

Galveston October 20th. 1842

My Lord,

I have the honor to acquaint Your Lordship that Mr. John Neill born in the town of Ayr, North Britain, has applied to me at the suggestion of the President upon the behalf of his Brother, Mr. Andrew Neill,<sup>4</sup> (also born in the same place) captured in

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup>October (?).

<sup>3</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Andrew Neill was one of the Bexar prisoners. For an account of his capture and subsequent escape see narrative by himself printed in THE QUARTERLY, XIII, 313-317.

St. Antonio de Bexar on the 11th Ultimo; when that town was surprised by the Mexicans

Mr. John Neill who resides in that part of the Country informs me that he entertains no doubt the Mexican force is still to the Eastward of the Rio Grande, and thinks it may be depended upon that they will advance again. He is also of opinion that the prisoners may be detained at Matamoras[?] and under all the circumstances of the case I have considered it incumbent upon myself to make an effort to obtain his Brother's release, and have therefore addressed a letter to General Woll of which I have the honor to enclose a Copy. As it may not be consistent with the President's purposes in a Military point of view, that any communication should take place with the Mexican Forces, (if they do advance again) I have sent the original letter to General Woll to His Excellency at Washington, with a copy, and committed it to him to transmit it or not, as He may judge fit. At the request of Mr. John Neill I shall also furnish a copy to Mr. Pakenham.

Although I am satisfied that Mr. John Neill is a Subject of Her Majesty by birth, still I have felt great doubt and difficulty about this case, for it is also true that he has assumed the privileges of Texian Citizenship, as Mr. John Neill declares however, with a determination to return to Scotland. I thought it right to explain to Mr. John Neill that as his Brother had assumed the advantages and duties of Texian Citizenship, He had necessarily exposed himself to the consequences: And therefore if He had been captured with arms in his hands in any act of aggressive warfare against Mexico, or with any clear knowledge that He was resisting a regular Mexican force, there could not have been the least pretension to request his release, or any mitigation of the treatment to which He would be liable as a Prisoner of War, according to the usages of Civilized Nations

But the considerations detailed in my letter to General Woll seem to me to have left room for interference upon admissible grounds, and I hope the course I have taken will meet Your Lordship's sanction. The case is certainly dubious, but I have felt it suitable, (to the extent of my present interference) to afford Mr. Neill the benefit of that state of doubt, feeling Your Lordship would rather I should have erred on this side, than have rejected

any sustainable claim upon the behalf of this Prisoner, preferred by his Brother.

Charles Elliot

To the Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO WOLL<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure]

True Copy.

Galveston October 18th. 1842.

Charles Elliot.

Sir,

I have the honor to address You in behalf of a Subject of the Queen My Sovereign, captured with certain other Prisoners by the Mexican force under Your Command at St. Antonio de Bexar on the 11 Ulto.

The name of the prisoner is Andrew Neill, and by the declaration before me I find him described to be about 30 Years of Age, and born at a place called Lough Fergus Farm in the County of Ayr, North Britain.

I am aware that these persons, or at least most of them were captured with arms in their hands after some slight resistance, neither have I any means of shewing, or any purpose to imply that Neill himself was unarmed. But the moderation of Your late proceedings at St. Antonio, so honorable to You, strengthens me in the confidence that You will at once admit the distinction between the case of a few Individuals belonging to peaceful Classes, of life (universally absolved from the operation of the rules of War) and casually collected at St. Antonio de Bexar, in discharge of their Civil functions, and that of detachments of troops, or persons assembled with hostile intention against Your Government.

The exposure of that part of the Country to invasion unauthorized by Your Government, and it's liability to sudden attack by Indians, are considerations which will not be lost upon You in explanation of an act of resistance to a complete surprize, by the division under Your Command, effected, it should be observed before the day light had well broken.

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

You are probably disposed to avail Yourself of any reasonable plea for the release of all these parties; And I can hardly doubt that upon reconsideration you will admit the truth and cogency of their representation that they were ignorant of the nature and extent of force to which they were opposed, and were doing no more than protecting themselves, against what might have been an attack of Indians, or of other disorderly and dangerous persons, coming with no Warrant from constituted Authority, and with no other object than that of plunder.

Mr. Neill was at St. Antonio on his peaceful and lawful occasion. Being there He was in a situation, which He was amply justified in expecting attack from quarters that too frequently leave to successful resistance the single chance for life. He could know nothing of the approach of the force under Your Command, and through his assumption of arms on this occasion has warranted his Capture as a Prisoner of War; I must declare that it does not seem to me to justify his detention after this representation shall reach Your hand. Founding the claim therefore, upon these premises, and relying upon the amicable disposition of Your Government towards that of Her Majesty, I have to request that Mr. Neill may be released.

I have of course no authority to make any formal reclamation in behalf of the other Individuals taken upon the same occasion, and to whose case similar reasoning may be applied, but appealing to Your generosity and Military Spirit I hope to be excused for very earnestly recommending the release of all the persons taken at St. Antonio.

It would be an act of consideration worthy of the magnanimity of Your Government, and congenial with Your own character to accept their reasonable declaration that they had no purpose to resist a respectable portion of a regular force.

Charles Elliot.

Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires  
to the Republic of Texas.

To His Excellency Don Andrew [Adrian] Woll. etc.

The Officer in Command of the Mexican Force in Advance.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

33 Craven Street, Strand.

October 24th. 1842.

My Lord,

Being anxious to avoid as much as possible trespassing upon Your Lordship's time with matters of a personal character, I have consulted Mr. Bidwell as to the existence of any precedent for a British Consul colonizing lands in a foreign Country, the seat of his public duties.

Mr. Bidwell's experience having failed to supply a precedent, I beg to submit to Your Lordship the course I propose to adopt, under the presumption that it is free from objection.

The conditional grant of land, which, under a general law of concession and contract, I received, in common with other Europeans, from Texas, would be wholly valueless without the application of a much larger Capital than I can command. I must, therefore, have associated capitalists with me in the undertaking or have suffered the contract, which is limited as to time, to expire. Instead of being associated with capitalists disposed to embark in the enterprize, I now propose to transfer to them my interest in the Contract, and confine myself to acting in the capacity of agent, which I presume to be in accordance with the Consular privilege to trade.

William Kennedy

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN<sup>2</sup>

33 Craven Street, Strand

London, October 27th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Her Majesty's Commission appointing me to be Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston, and Your Lordship's despatches (No. 1, 2, 3) together

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.<sup>2</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

with Consular Instructions and documents appertaining to the office.

My proper appreciation of the trust with which I have been honored, will, I am sensible, be best evinced by a faithful, diligent, and discreet discharge of the duties connected with it. And in this particular I humbly hope I shall not be found wanting.

On Monday the 31st Inst. I shall leave London, for the purpose of proceeding to Liverpool, and there embarking for my post, with as little delay as possible

In accordance with paragraph No. 11, of the Consul Instructions for Her Majesty's Consuls, I beg to enclose impressions in duplicate of my seal of office and my official Signature annexed.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN<sup>1</sup>

No. 13.

Galveston, November 2nd. 1842

My Lord,

Since I had the honor to address Your Lordship on the 20th Ultimo I have received a Communication from this Government, herewith transmitted, with my own reply.<sup>2</sup>

If I may presume to offer an opinion upon the general subject of this country, thus brought under Your Lordship's notice, I should say that it's present critical condition arises from departure from that steady abstinence from aggressive War on Mexico, either by land or sea, which has always been General Houston's policy, in or out of place; I cannot say power, for this Government is without force or means.

The creation of a Texian Marine, at an enormous expense, and which there are no longer any funds to maintain, was unnecessary, for Mexico had no Military Marine to molest this country, and no merchant ships to capture. The proceedings, therefore, of the Texian Cruisers were calculated only to trouble and provoke

<sup>1</sup>F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

<sup>2</sup>The reply is Elliot to Terrell, October 31, 1842, on the revocation of the blockade, and refers to a letter from Terrell, dated October 16, and received October 30. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1043; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

friendly neutrals, to incite the foreign merchants, connected with the trade of Mexico, and to stimulate the supineness of the Government of that country, by futile manifestations before their Ports.

The result has been the creation of the present Mexican Marine.

The consequences of the Santa Fé expedition undertaken without knowledge of the country, without military resources, and without discipline, were the surrender of the whole party on the threshold of the Mexican territory, the incitement of the frontier population, ill affected to their own Government, and not ill neighbours to the Texians, retaliatory incursions on the part of the Mexican Government, the strengthening of the confidence of that Government and its troops in their capacity to contend with this people, the organization of a corps armed with the same description of weapon, (the rifle) and finally, something little short of the breaking up of the whole Western Country of Texas.

When the Character of the Mexican Government and people is considered it seems reasonable to think that adherence to wiser courses, would have long since made it a matter of indifference to Texas whether Mexico acknowledged its independence or not, for a profitable and growing forced trade with the North Eastern Provinces of Mexico was inevitable, (rapidly populating, and strengthening the western part of Texas) and which the Mexican Government could not have disturbed, without the greatest danger of intestine commotion; and could only have regulated by a treaty of peace, and moderate fiscal arrangements. It is a remarkable fact in support of this view, and otherwise of much interest, that the Mexican force which surprised St. Antonio in the course of last September, was accompanied by traders who bought up all the Merchandize deposited there, at very handsome prices, and carried it back under the protection of the retiring force.

Nothing certain is known here of General Woll's situation (a circumstance which will enable Your Lordship to judge of the condition of this country in respect to Military vigilance, and information,) but it is generally believed that he is on the "Nucces" and that he has been reinforced, In the meantime considerable numbers of Texian Volunteers, perhaps about 1000, have assembled at St. Antonio de Bexar and in the neighbourhood, and it is declared with the determination to cross the Rio

Grande, and ravage that line of frontier. It is to be hoped that no measure of that kind will be attempted, for with very high impressions of the gallantry of these levies, it must be added that they are without discipline and I am afraid there can be little doubt that the result would be signally disastrous.

Your Lordship will I believe be disposed to think that there is soundness in the opinion that the strength of this people lies entirely in adherence to a system of defensive War. By drawing the Mexicans into the heart of the Country, driving their own cattle before them as they retired, destroying the crops, and never suffering themselves to be betrayed into measures of serious attack, till they had the full advantage of an exhausted enemy, remote from their own resources, some moment of tempestuous weather, and a wooded position from which they could use their rifles without danger of dislodgement by a regular force, (and the banks of the numerous streams abound in such cover) it appears to be as certain as any event in war can be thought to be, that the Mexicans would suffer another heavy discomfiture. With perfect knowledge of the country on the part of the Texians, it is hard to believe that an opposing force, taken at proper advantage, would succeed in getting out of it

Movements upon these principles, enabled General Houston to achieve the successes of 1836 when the country was much weaker than it is at present, and with leading of equal skill, and equal address in the management of the particular force which this country can assemble the like results might be looked for again. Recent events have afforded no evidence of such qualities.

Arrivals from New Orleans to the 26th Ultimo bring intelligence from Campeché to the 14th Ultimo at which date there was a considerable Mexican force concentrated there. The next arrivals will probably bring intelligence of some decisive event in that quarter, and the nature of that event will as probably determine the course of the rulers of Mexico with regard to this country.

Sudden and violent revulsions of authority are so usual in Mexico, and there is so much difficulty on the part of such a Government in commanding the efficient working of the mixed armament with which they are now operating, that it is possible large

allowances should be made for the chances of trammel or difficulty in some of these particulars

Other motives and impulses of which Your Lordship must be fully informed are also acting upon the Mexican Government, and Your Lordship will of course be able to judge of the purposes of that Government much better than I can have any means of doing. But speaking as a Seaman, and with a long experience in these seas, I may add that at this season of the year, and during the winter months, there would be great risk of disaster from bad weather and dangerous navigation, particularly on the Campeché Bank, to a Squadron of Mexican transports and vessels of War.

Before I conclude this despatch I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship that the heavy rains and tempestuous weather of the last month and September have seriously damaged the crops of this year, and upon the whole this Country is struggling through a state of great difficulty of all kinds.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

The last despatch I have had the honor to receive from Your Lordship in this Series is No. 11 of July 16th and I am afraid that some communications from the department must have been lost in the Steam boat "Merchant" cast away in the early part of last month on the passage from New Orleans to this place.

Charles Elliot.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

August Santleben, author of *A Texas Pioneer* (reviewed in THE QUARTERLY, XV, 91), died at his home in San Antonio, September 18, 1911.

Mrs. M. Wheeler, Treasurer of the Texas Division, U. D. C., died at Victoria, December 15, 1911.

Thomas Scurry, former Adjutant General of Texas, died at Dallas, December 17, 1911.

Andrew B. Briscoe died at San Antonio, January 28, 1912.

Captain Sam B. Barron died at Palestine, February 2, 1912. Captain Barron's home was Rusk, where he had lived since 1854. He was the author of *The Lone Star Defenders: A Chronicle of the Third Texas Cavalry, Ross' Brigade*.

Judge James H. Robertson died at Austin, March 2, 1912.

A sketch of the life of the late Senator Walter Tips, written by his friend, Dr. H. L. Hilgartner, was printed in the *Austin Statesman*, January 21, 1912.

A description of the Southern soldiers' monument to be erected at Victoria, and unveiled June 3, 1912, was printed in the *Houston Post*, December 9, 1911, page 8.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*The Annexation of Texas.* By Justin H. Smith. (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co. 1911. Pp. ix, 496.)<sup>1</sup>

Exceptional opportunities and laborious industry have enabled Dr. Smith to give us a solid and comprehensive history of the annexation of Texas, based on a minute study of practically all the sources. Every phase of the subject is painstakingly, and, in most cases, it seems, conclusively covered. As gathered by the present reviewer, his most important conclusions, which agree in the main with recent investigations based on narrower sources, may be stated as follows: (1) The Texas revolution was "a legitimate measure of self-defense" against the despotism of Santa Anna. (2) The rebels were aided by people of the United States, and there were "no doubt substantial violations of the neutrality law," but these "cannot be shown to have been the fault of our national authorities." (3) "Very good reasons existed" for the recognition of Texas in March, 1837, and Jackson did well to follow the implied advice of Congress to recognize it. (4) Sectional influences caused the rejection of the Texan overtures for annexation in 1837, but by 1844 annexation sentiment was "largely non-partisan." (5) British interest in Texas was very great, and though Aberdeen's government seems not to have entertained the idea of annexing Texas, in 1844 it calmly contemplated war, if necessary, to prevent its annexation by the United States. (6) Tyler's desire to effect annexation, therefore, though partly due to personal and political ambition, was backed by patriotism and sound statesmanship; and "the method adopted to avert the peril was the most available and very likely the only effectual one that could have been devised." (7) Actually Texas was independent at the time, and the annexation treaty violated no principle of international law. (8) "Real opposition to the acceptance of Texas makes but a very small showing" in the rejection of the treaty, domestic politics being mainly

<sup>1</sup>This review is reprinted from *The American Historical Review* for April, 1912.

responsible for its failure. (9) There was "no clear-cut issue between annexation and anti-annexation" in the election of 1844, and Polk's victory was not an endorsement of "immediate annexation"; nevertheless, "a large majority of the people" were "in favor of accepting Texas at an early date." (10) Fear of injuring Clay's chances, and thereby furthering annexation, deterred England and France from a joint protest against annexation in 1844, but the subsequent withdrawal of France compelled England to work indirectly by inducing Mexico to recognize Texas on condition that it should remain independent. (11) Houston, Jones, and other prominent Texans favored the British plan, but the people were wildly in favor of annexation.

The book naturally contains some errors of fact, but they do not of themselves materially affect its value. Unfortunately, however, another fault may weaken the confidence of some readers in its worth. This is an occasional lack of perspective which is sometimes merely amusing, but which at other times leads to inconsistency and at still others to questionable conclusions. As an example of the first, take the statement (p. 39) that the Texan Mier expedition—in which the total loss was 261 men—"considerably impaired . . . the fighting strength of the nation." And, remembering all of the facts, what must be thought of the argument (p. 386) that the practical Louis Philippe was influenced in his attitude toward annexation by the hope of eventually inheriting Spanish-America (including Texas) through the failure of the Spanish Bourbon line? As an example of inconsistency, on page 209 Calhoun represses disunion talk, but at the same time on page 211 he stimulates it. On page 392, England "could not afford to fight" the United States, but on page 394 it stood ready "to undertake a war in order to establish at the Sabine a perpetual barrier against us." As an example of the third, it seems to the reviewer that, in order to heighten the danger of British influence, too much is made of the apparent changes of public opinion in Texas during 1837-1845 (pp. 69, 70, 74, and Chapters 17 and 20). And one feels that the influence of slavery is slighted before and exaggerated after April, 1844, in order to emphasize a "change of front" in the administration and to explain the Calhoun-Pakenham incident.

The system of citation used, though trying and sometimes un-

certain, is probably defensible; but, whenever it is possible, copies should be distinguished from manuscript originals. For example, it should be stated that a note containing the word "improperly," to which the author attaches a good deal of importance, is a copy. It seems less justifiable to cite articles from which considerable assistance was drawn without giving the names of the writers. And unexplained references to "a well known historian," "the author of this passage," etc., are at the present day inexcusable. However, these are faults of taste. The book as a whole stands for itself, and on most points it probably says the final word. It is fittingly dedicated to the memory of Professor Garrison.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

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*Hunter's Magazine*, published at Ozona, is amply fulfilling its promise to chronicle "frontier history, border tragedy, pioneer achievement" in Texas. The first volume was completed with the October issue. Plans for improving and enlarging the magazine are announced.

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The following articles have recently appeared in *The Texas Magazine* (Houston): *Historic Briscoe County*, by Adele B. Looscan (December); *Mirabeau B. Lamar*, by Julia Beazley (December); *George W. Smyth*, by Mrs. Lipscomb Norvell (February); *Alexander Horton*, by Katie Daffan (March); *Reminiscences of a Castro Colonist*, by H. D. Fretelliere (March).

## AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

## THE ANNUAL MEETING

The regular meeting of the Association was held at the University of Texas on March 2. On recommendation of the Executive Council a number of new members were elected. The following resolution was adopted endorsing a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Hon. Morris Sheppard for the erection of a National Archives Building at Washington:

*Resolved* by the Texas State Historical Association in annual meeting assembled, That the President and Secretary be authorized to unite with the Texas Library and Historical Commission in a joint memorial to the House of Representatives of the United States, requesting that more adequate provision be made for safeguarding the archives of the national government, and endorsing the plan of erecting a National Archive Building.

*Resolved*, further, That a copy of this memorial be sent to each Senator and Congressman from Texas.

The treasurer's report was received and approved. It is printed below, and it shows the Association to be in a fairly satisfactory financial condition. On recommendation of the Executive Council, the name of THE QUARTERLY was changed to THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Though as much Texas matter will hereafter be published as was formerly, the change of name will enable the Association to enlarge the scope of THE QUARTERLY by publishing material on other portions of the Southwest. This, it is hoped, will lead to betterment of the Association's finances, and to a considerable enlargement of THE QUARTERLY. Officers were elected for the ensuing year, as follows: Judge A. W. Terrell, president; Miss Katie Daffan, Mr. Beau-regard Bryan, Dr. M. J. Bliem, Mrs. A. B. Looscan, vice-presidents; Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, corresponding secretary and treasurer; Judge Z. T. Fulmore and Mrs. D. F. Arthur, members of the Executive Council.

At a meeting of the Fellows, Miss Elizabeth H. West was elected a Fellow, and the following members of the Executive Council were elected to the publication committee: Judge Z. T. Fulmore, Dr. W. J. Battle, and Mr. E. W. Winkler. The president and the recording secretary and librarian, Professor E. C. Barker, are *ex officio* members of the committee.

## TREASURER'S REPORT FOR YEAR ENDING MARCH 1, 1912

*Receipts*

	1912	1911
By membership dues .....	\$1,539 35	\$1,400 16
By sale of QUARTERLY.....	44 75	24 65
By reprints .....	8 50	36 90
By binding .....	29 55	7 30
By miscellaneous .....	3 28	7 25
By interest .....	149 45	198 45
By advertising .....		28 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total receipts .....	\$1,774 88	\$1,732 81
Cash assets, March, 1911.....	2,660 95	
	<hr/>	
	\$4,435 83	

*Expenditures*

To printing QUARTERLY.....	\$ 775 41	\$1,264 28
To binding QUARTERLY .....	101 76	70 95
To reprinting QUARTERLY .....	301 17	87 17
To reviews .....	19 50	24 00
To commissions .....	5 00	27 00
To refunds .....		4 00
To clerical expenses .....	257 60	245 50
To postage .....	125 00	171 05
To stationery .....	27 15	44 25
To miscellaneous expenses .....	108 52	231 41
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total expenses .....	\$1,721 11	\$2,169 61
Cash assets, March, 1912.....	2,714 72	
	<hr/>	
	\$4,435 83	

CHAS. W. RAMSDELL, Treasurer.  
H. Y. BENEDICT, Auditor.



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